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## 10 Carlton have less tar than 1:

	Tar mg./cig.	Nicotine mg./cig.
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Kool Milds	14	0.9
Marlboro Lights	12	0.8
Merit	8	0.6
Merit Menthol	8	0.6

	Tar mg./cig.	Nicotine mg./cig.
Salem Lights	10	0.8
Vantage	11	0.8
Vantage Menthol	11	0.8
Winston Lights	13	0.9

Of all brands, lowest...

Carlton Box: less than 0.5 mg. tar  
and 0.05 mg. nicotine av. per  
cigarette, FTC Report May '78.

	Tar mg./cig.	Nicotine mg./cig.
Carlton Soft Pack	1	0.1
Carlton Menthol less than 1	1	0.1
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When you get right down to it, deficit spending by government is the chief cause of inflation. We need to take better ideas to the top in government, too. We need to keep government aware that unfettered spending must be brought under control—and that one way to check inflation is to make our tax dollars more productive.

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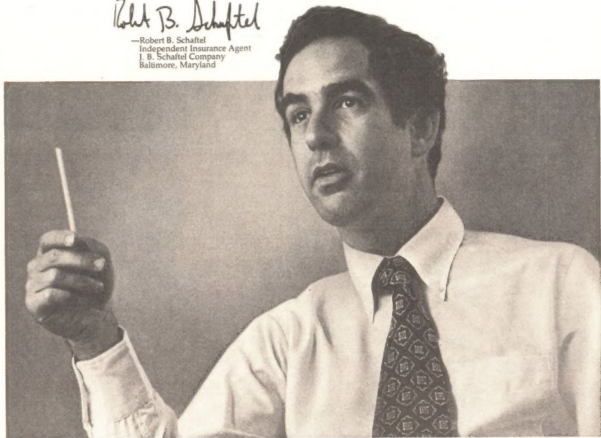
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*Robert B. Schafel*

—Robert B. Schafel  
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## A Letter from the Publisher

**C**ambodia is a haunted land full of wrenching memories for Marsh Clark, chief of TIME's Hong Kong bureau. As Saigon bureau chief from 1968 to 1970, and on numerous later assignments, Clark watched the inexorable advance of Pol Pot's Khmer Rouge army as it seized power in 1975 and began systematically to erase Cambodian civilization. Painfully he remembers when Sean Flynn, son of Movie Star Errol Flynn, headed for the front on a photographic assignment for TIME in 1970, where he was captured by Khmer forces and, like 21 other missing colleagues, never heard from again. It was thus with mixed feelings that Clark set out for his latest visit to the Thai-Cambodian border to report this week's cover story.

"There is no serious question," says Clark, "that the Khmer Rouge in attempting to establish a new Cambodia—without family ties, without mail, telephones or even money—committed a form of genocide unknown to mankind since the Holocaust. Yet, one cannot look at the condition of these people today without a sense of anguish. A starving baby minutes away from death has no responsibility or knowledge of Cambodian politics. What human cruelties and failings, one wonders, have reduced tens of thousands of people to the state of dumb, brute animals?"

With assistance from Thai officials anxious to bring world attention to the tragedy on their border, Clark found his way to the rude camps where Cambodian refugees have huddled. He watched as the tattered forces of the once mighty Khmer Rouge staggered across the border. Together with TIME Stringer John Burgess, he managed to cross into Cambodia itself.

ROBERT ROYER



Clark at Cambodian border

Says Clark: "On the other side, the small, mostly teen-aged force of Khmers wore stoic, hating expressions and fingered their AK-47 assault rifles nervously. Americans are no friends of theirs, having bombed Cambodia mercilessly in the early 1970s. Only after I gave them some cigarettes did they loosen up and pose for pictures. Meanwhile, the thump of Vietnamese artillery could be heard in the distance." One bright spot in the week's tragic tableau was the harried efforts of international relief organizations in Thailand. "Their valiant work impressed me greatly," says Clark. "In two days, they miraculously transformed an open field into a camp with hospitals and kitchens." But what they can achieve seems small compared with the dimensions of the disaster. Sums up Clark, who has spent a total of twelve years in six foreign bureaus: "Never have I seen people in such despair and deprivation. Not in India, Viet Nam, the Middle East or Northern Ireland. Not even in Bangladesh."

*John C. Meyers*

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## Letters

### Inflation Woes

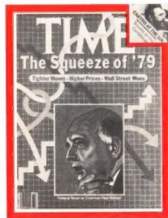
To the Editors:

Inflation is, quite simply, the Federal Government's printing more worthless paper money to compensate for past and future worthless policy [Oct. 22]. It is a deep and worsening problem that will never be solved until every aspect of our society identifies and re-examines its own position. Then we must have the courage to change.

Fred A. DaBois  
Tennent, N.J.

Explain "overheating" to the construction or auto industries, which can't build homes or sell cars. I don't see retailers screaming about too many crowds in their stores. What is overheated are interest rates, and the Feds, the biggest borrowers in the country, are the most affected. I am going to try the Fed's solution on my slightly overweight dachshund, overfeeding her to get her to stop eating. I only hope she doesn't get sick and die.

Cornelius Moelling  
Grand Rapids



The central problem is that few people believe Big Business or Gigantic Government. Volcker of the Fed and Shapiro of Du Pont plus others meet in a posh resort in Hot Springs to speak of "easy money" and "the sooner we suffer the pain, the sooner we will be through it all." It would be more believable if it came from a motel in Davenport, Iowa.

Thomas N. Horton  
Glen Ridge, N.J.

The unsophisticated, maybe 80% plus, are beginning to put the Fed in the same class as OPEC. Both are pushing prices higher.

Philip Coleman  
Swarthmore, Pa.

Paul "Green Giant" Volcker for President in '80 on a bold, anti-inflation platform that defends the dollar abroad, puts a nonpartisan squeeze on runaway

Government spending at home, and effectively controls the excessive flow of money and plastic money into the U.S. economy.

Jack Pope  
San Francisco

### Papal Aftershock

The articles "Aftershock from a Papal Visit" and "Hard Questions on the Issues" [Oct. 22] go behind the pageantry of the Pope's visit and deal directly with some of the problems his papacy faces.

The Pope misjudged the pluralism of American religion and its effect on Roman Catholicism. Unlike Italy, Poland, Ireland or Mexico, the U.S. is as much Protestant as Roman Catholic. In a pluralistic country, in an ecumenical age, the Pope made no real effort to recognize other Christian faiths and meet with leaders of major Protestant denominations.

(The Rev.) Russell C. Block  
Berkeley Heights, N.J.

I find the criticisms being directed by some against John Paul II's recent pronouncements rather remarkable and even amusing. Apparently many of his critics fail to realize that the Pope is not concerned with his standing in the popularity polls. As the Vicar of Christ, there is only one pollster whose approval he desires to maintain.

Gerald W. Urbanek  
San Antonio

Did not the Holy Father in effect reply to Sister Theresa Kane in his homily, which urged nuns to be "other Marys"? He referred to the Last Supper, at which the church says the priesthood was instituted, and almost as an aside, he said, "And Mary was not there." Subtle though it was, what more answer could he give or should she need?

Tom McKoon  
Canaan, N.H.

The Pope's reaffirmation of the ban against the ordination of women was, of course, a sexist slap in the face to all women. It was also, however, an offense to God because it attributes to him a prejudice which by definition he cannot have. God gave women equal minds and hearts and an equal capacity to love and serve him. Why, then, continue to make the priesthood dependent on an anatomical difference irrelevant to the matter? Tradition is not a good enough answer.

Rita A. Micheli  
Highland Park, N.J.

### New Edisons

Even with his eccentricities, Thomas Edison was a great thinker [Oct. 22]. He could even be called "the Einstein of invention."

We could have many new Edisons and many to outdo him if we had better ed-

ucation for gifted children in this country. They are the resource to help us out of the fuel shortage and other problems, but we don't develop these people into what they could be. We must help these future leaders. Let's give more money to the gifted and talented programs. They are a good investment.

Peter Hannah  
Yorktown Heights, N.Y.

The decline in patents granted to U.S. citizens coincides with a huge increase in scholarly publication created by pressure from the federal grant system to publish or perish. Is it possible that we are diverting too much creative talent from useful invention to academic research?

Lawrence Cranberg  
Austin

America doesn't need more patents. The Patent Office is full of useless inventions. What is needed is better criteria to define meaningful inventions and better channels to implement these inventions.

Jacques M. Lecouturier  
San Rafael, Calif.

Even Edison's remarkable mix of "inspiration and perspiration" still required a receptive and flexible culture for the practical realization of his inventions. On the other hand, Leonardo da Vinci's notebooks and treatises reveal perhaps the greatest inventive mind in history, which unfortunately was too brilliant to be supported by unstable patrons involved in perpetual wars. Our culture is still as ripe as any in history for innovation. Fortunately, Edison was "right" for his time; how ironic and self-defeating for Leonardo to be "ahead of his time."

William B. Hildebrand  
Madison, Wis.

### Cannibalism, Firsthand

It is obvious that lack of firsthand reports of cannibalism is no basis for William Arens' conclusion that it never existed [Oct. 22]. After all, how many cannibals would stop with the first hand?

Bob Lauderale  
Holdrege, Neb.

Mr. Arens' speculations that cannibalism has never occurred as a regular practice fail to explain a disease called Kuru, which affects the brain and is eventually fatal. It is thought to be caused by a virus, and occurs only among the Fore tribe of Eastern New Guinea. It has never been shown to occur in any other animal, but has been transmitted to chimpanzees by injecting them with brain tissue from infected people. It has never been demonstrated to be transmitted by other vectors, and cannibalism is considered the most likely mode of transmission, i.e., eating the brain of an infected individual. Indeed the disease has almost become unknown as settlers



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## Letters

have pushed into the New Guinea jungle and cannibalism has been outlawed by tribal chiefs.

Steven M. Kempner, M.D.  
The Miriam Hospital  
Providence

### Cuba's Record

Castro does great violence to the intelligence of the world [Oct. 22]. His extreme criticism of the U.S. for not sending aid to the hungry and shoeless children cannot be countenanced. What is Cuba's record? Castro's dictatorship exports armies, hate and killing on command of the Kremlin. Where in the world does Communism feed and clothe little children without demanding their bodies and souls in payment?

Will W. Orr  
Flat Rock, N.C.

If Castro had any regard for the Cubans, he would throw the Soviets and their bankrupt economics out and welcome Western capitalism. But no; the macho image prevails: the cigar, the beard, the fatigues, the whole clown act. Can one person's egotism lead to the creation of such monumental economic and historical illiteracy? Apparently so.

Edward R. Wall  
Palm City, Fla.

### Kissinger the Miraclemaker?

Having read the third installment of the hagiography called *White House Years* [Oct. 15], an absorbing account of how Miraclemaker Kissinger would have made this world a better place to live in, I am breathlessly awaiting the concluding line of his book. It ought to be: "And on the seventh day I rested."

George Javor  
Marquette, Mich.

Kissinger's account of the unfortunate 1971 India-Pakistan war assures me that he has not lost the touch. Three years out of public office and he is still a master of wordplay and half-truths.

Dev Gupta  
Tucson, Ariz.

Kissinger's kudos for Nixon's handling of the 1971 India-Pakistan war could better be directed toward the brave Bangladeshi people who endured a systematic genocide conducted by fellow countrymen from the western wing. As an observer of the horror of rape, burning and killing, I can only reply with silence when asked to comment on our country's commitment to human rights.

(The Rev.) Phil Parrshall  
Wheaton, Ill.

### Frost the Giant Slayer?

The article on the Kissinger interview [Oct. 22] was much too kind to David

Frost. Unfortunately, he chose to attack rather than interview, and the viewer missed a chance for a good history lesson.

Rule No. 1 in the Giant Slayers' Handbook states: Never attack giants without a rock in your sling.

William T. Wolfe  
Huntington Beach, Calif.

I have never seen an interview where the interviewee had trouble getting a word in edgewise. Frost appropriated time for himself to spread his own tendentious demagoguery.

How many more Cambodians, boat people, and the masses who never escape, have to die to make people like Frost admit that ours was a moral enterprise, to try to keep back the Red tide sweeping out of North Vietnam?

Henri Morgenroth  
Santa Barbara, Calif.

### Another Holocaust

We vowed there would never be another Holocaust, yet millions of people are dying in Cambodia [Oct. 22]. Are we so cowardly as to turn away again? Screw the red tape and help these people—now!

Mary Frances Boecker  
Timonium, Md.

### Connally's Political Courage

Informed and concerned Americans have greeted Connally's announcement of his Middle East position [Oct. 22] with the sentiment that at long last, there is a political candidate who is putting the best interests of the U.S. before those of Israel.

His patriotism and political courage deserve the support of each American concerned with the detrimental impact of the lack of a true peace in the critical Middle East area.

Frank Marla  
Antiochian Orthodox Archdiocese of N.A.  
Englewood, N.J.

The day the U.S. gives back Texas, California and all other land acquired from Mexico will be the day that I justify Israel's giving up its land to the Arabs.

Jacky Aron  
Austin

### Still the Publisher

In your cover story on Connally [Sept. 10] I am erroneously identified as former publisher of the Texas Observer. While I am the Observer's former editor, I continue to be its publisher.

Ronnie Dugger  
Austin

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TIME NOVEMBER 12, 1979

## American Scene

### In Washington: A Pride of Former Spooks

The black ties and bald heads could belong to old college classmates at a 40th reunion. The *Suprême de Volaille Eugénie* on the menu is standard hotel chicken with yellow gravy, and the platitudes served up by the speakers might be heard at any nostalgic or vaguely patriotic gathering. But the memories are not of the promise of youth or of bright college years. Mostly, they are of spying.

In the ballroom of the Hilton in Washington, D.C., former spooks are reliving the fears and joys of parachuting behind enemy lines, breaking codes, forging documents and blowing up bridges. The gray, mostly prosperous-looking men and women are veterans of the Office of Strategic Services, the World War II predecessor of the Central Intelligence Agency. The occasion is their annual bash, the William J. Donovan Award Dinner.

General "Wild Bill" Donovan, who died 20 years ago, was the Wall Street lawyer whom President Franklin Roosevelt commissioned to set up an intelligence service in 1941, five months before Pearl Harbor. At the time, the U.S. had no formal espionage arm. Snooping had been in disrepute; a decade earlier, Secretary



The spies' much prized award

of State Henry Stimson had declared that "gentlemen do not read each other's mail." But Donovan persuaded F.D.R. that such etiquette need not apply in dealings with Nazi Germany and Imperial Japan, and thus the U.S.'s first independent intelligence agency was born.

The attendance at this Donovan dinner, the twelfth since 1962, is unusually large. The crowd of more than 400 in-

cludes not only OSS veterans and friends and family members but eight Senators, FBI Director William Webster and two wartime spymasters who went on to head the CIA, Richard Helms and William Colby. The old espionage hands come partly out of nostalgia for a simpler age of spying, before cold wars and dirty tricks scandals and congressional oversight committees. There is also a perceptible closing of the ranks behind the nation's now-beset intelligence establishment.

Earlier in the day, a group of 100 or so OSS veterans listened grimly to a series of gloomy speeches. Wyoming Republican Senator Malcolm Wallop scoffed that CIA agents have become not spies but "bureaucrats." Frank Barnett of the National Strategy Information Center, a hawkish think tank, warned of a "Soviet window of opportunity" in the 1980s. Ray Cline, a former top CIA officer who now directs strategic and international studies at Georgetown University, offered a dismal report card on his old outfit: D— in covert activities, C— in counterintelligence, C— in information gathering. It is all very depressing to the OSS alumni. Laments Carl Eifler, who ran OSS oper-



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ations in Asia and later got a doctor of divinity degree: "Their team's got 50 well-protected big fellas. Then there is our team four guys in tennis shoes and shorts."

By the time pre-dinner cocktails are served, the mood is cheerier. "We were marvelous amateurs," sighs Margaret Sherman, a Norwalk, Conn., housewife who served in a counterintelligence unit in London and Paris. Donovan ignored the advice of the creator of James Bond, Author Ian Fleming, who as a British naval intelligence officer in 1941 described the ideal spy as middle-aged, sober, discreet and experienced. Instead, Wild Bill sought out impatient young people who did not mind being bold or even "calculatingly reckless."

One of these was Frederick Mayer, now a retired radio engineer who lives in West Virginia. A Jewish refugee from Germany who arrived in Brooklyn in 1938, Mayer was an Army corporal in training in Arizona when one of Donovan's recruiters persuaded him to volunteer for something "more exciting." It was in 1944 he parachuted into Nazi-held Austria, stole a German uniform and posed as a Wehrmacht officer while he monitored enemy troop movements. Laughs Mayer: "I was even promoted." Later, after getting a job in a Messerschmitt factory to spy on the development of German jet fighters, he was caught and



**Beneath Wild Bill's portrait, OSS veterans fondly recall spying in a simpler age**

*Today it is "50 well-protected big fellas vs. four guys in tennis shoes and shorts."*

tortured by the Gestapo. He managed to escape in a German staff car.

Donovan was an eclectic recruiter, among the people he brought into the OSS were Conservative Columnist Stewart Alsop, Marxist Political Philosopher Herbert Marcuse, and Chef Julia Child, who tended intelligence files at the OSS office in Chongqing (Chungking). So many OSS people were listed in the *Social Register*

that critics complained that the initials stood for "Oh So Social."

Donovan's love of ingenuity was infectious. William Duff, a retired book publisher who was sent to Algiers to recruit agents for spying in France, recalls one example: "We had a chap in Cairo who designed a land mine that looked remarkably like a camel turd. He put it in the diplomatic pouch and sent it to London. I'm

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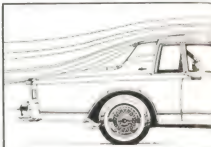


Plus the longest estimated driving range for Caprice and Impala since EPA first issued gas mileage estimates

The New Chevrolet comes to you in 1980 with the kind of gas mileage estimates once associated with smaller cars. Plus the longest estimated driving range for Caprice

in 1974. Estimates not available in California at time of printing.

**Remember:** Compare the "estimated MPG" to the "estimated MPG" of other cars. You may get different mileage and range, depending on how fast you drive, weather conditions and trip length. City mileage and range will be less in heavy city traffic. Actual highway mileage and range will probably be less than the estimated highway fuel economy. Range figures obtained by multiplying the 25-gallon fuel tank capacity by the EPA mileage estimates of our new standard V6 engine. The New Chevrolet is equipped with GM-built engines produced by various divisions. See your dealer for details.



**New aerodynamic shape: less wind**

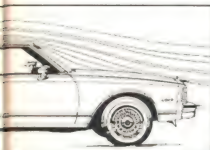
Virtually every square inch of body sheet metal on coupes and sedans has been reshaped for 1980. The hood is lower, the rear deck higher, for less drag, improved gas economy. The sleek aerodynamic styling also rewards you with



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# MILEAGE ESTIMATES SIZE CHEVROLET.



resistance, improved fuel economy, a trunk even bigger than last year's — an advantage you'll appreciate on your next family trip. There's also a new side-lift-type jack and a compact spare tire that's easier to handle. And that's only a partial list of our new features for 1980.

## New standard V6 power.

As you've undoubtedly gathered by now, there's a host of new technology in The New Chevrolet for 1980. There's the operating efficiency and driving response of the new V6 engine; new Easy-Roll tires to help carry you farther on each tank of gas. But with all that's



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All at a Chevrolet price. The New Chevrolet Caprice and Impala — made right for the '80s, right for you. See your Chevy dealer about buying or leasing The New Chevrolet today.

## THE NEW CHEVROLET



*Caprice Classic Coupe*

In a world growing  
more and more complex,  
it's still possible  
to think of  
simple pleasures.

Think rare.



**JB**  
RARE  
SCOTCH

## American Scene

not sure they knew quite what to make of it." Thibaut de Saint Phalle, now a director of the Export-Import Bank, discovered that Chinese pirates were very adept at blowing up Japanese ships, and he went to the offshore island of Quemoy to recruit them for the Allied cause. On the island, he remembers, he found himself living "in 12th century splendor. The pirates had stolen some very fine old furniture."

Kay Halle, an elegant Cleveland department store heiress, was recruited for the OSS at a Washington cocktail party. What was her job? "Black propaganda," she replies sweetly. On her right at table 33, André Pacatte bursts into the *Marseillaise* as a U.S. Army band plays the French national anthem. Before and after the war, Pacatte ran the Berlitz school in Washington, during the war he used his language skills behind German lines in France and Italy. He recalls taking a 14-hour plane flight with Donovan and a group of shell-shocked American flyers returning home for psychiatric treatment. "The crazy flyers were babbling things like 'Me-109 at 2 o'clock high' and going 'Ack-ack-ack-ack!' General Donovan was looking through my briefcase and reading everything in it, including letters to me from my wife." Why did he do that? Exclaims Pacatte: "Why? Because he was General Donovan!"

**B**eneath a huge sepia photograph of the general, the speakers are extolling his qualities as citizen-soldier-statesman-spy. The Donovan award is given by the Veterans of the OSS, the agency's alumni association, to people who exemplify Donovan's virtues, a category broad enough to include Earl Mountbatten of Burma, the Apollo 11 astronauts and Senator Everett Dirksen of Illinois. This year's winner is Jacques Chaban-Delmas, a hero of the French Resistance who is now president of the French National Assembly. The first guest speaker, Senator Daniel Inouye of Hawaii, comes down squarely in favor of "duty, honor, country, courage." Then Ambassador Kenneth Rush returns to the Decline of Everything theme explored earlier in the day. Finally, Chaban-Delmas receives his award and praises liberty in charmingly broken English.

After dinner, the old spooks are still wondering what went wrong with the intelligence establishment. "Well," says Maryland Housewife Mary Furman, who interrogated prisoners during the war with the help of exiles from Poland and other Nazi-occupied countries, "we were civilians." She stops, hearing herself sounding holier than thou, and reflects quietly. "We never beat prisoners. Of course, the Poles were standing right there, and they were happy to oblige, and the prisoners knew it. But we never had any trouble. We never had to do anything." Bill Duff, the OSS man in Algiers, has another explanation. "It was World War II. The war was so..." He pauses. "Clear."

—Evan Thomas

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He's best when the heat's on. He cuts through any smoke screen. He's CBS News Correspondent Bert Quint—and we call him The Fireman.

Bert's earned the name the hard way. He covered the turmoil in Northern Ireland, the cyclone that ravaged East Pakistan, the fighting in Bangladesh. He spent long months under fire in Vietnam.

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Because I can't be sure they do, I give them vitamins every day."**

Adolescence is a period of great nutritional need. The body requires a steady supply of nutrients to support growth and insure good health. Vitamins, especially, play an important role in helping convert food to energy and in building body tissue. They support the "growth spurt" and an increase in physical activity. Lowered vitamin levels over extended periods may result in abnormal metabolism. This could limit the adolescent's performance and achievement of full potential.

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# The 1980 Dodge Aspen Special. The only 6-passenger car under \$5000.

Sometimes a "bargain" car turns out to be less than a bargain when you have it equipped the way you want it. But the 1980 Dodge Aspen Special Sedan is a solid automobile, with enough room to carry six passengers in comfort. It comes already equipped with most of the features you'd want, but would normally expect to order extra. That's why, at a sticker price of \$4994,\* we think it is the best car value in America.

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There are cars that can carry six people. And there are cars that cost less than \$5000. But only Chrysler engineering came up with a car that does both. A car that is better equipped than cars costing much more. That offers both performance and efficiency. The 1980 Dodge Aspen does all the important things well. And doing the important things well is what Total Performance is all about.

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# May the Best Man Win

*The trumpet sounds for the campaign of 1980*

"It's just like the days before the war in 1861. Families are getting together for the last time, shaking hands and going off to do bitter battle. People are having to decide their loyalties."

—Pollster Pat Caddell

For months they have been assembling their volunteer armies and their mercenary advisers. They have been filling their coffers with treasure for the long campaign. In Los Angeles and Houston, in Boston and in Washington, they have assembled in their homes for secret meetings, planning strategy, discussing tactics, analyzing their foes' strengths and weaknesses, measuring and guessing (with the help of the Merlins of opinion sampling) the mood of the great populace they hope to court and conquer. Now they are about to burst forth into full-scale battle.

The prize to be won exactly a year from now, on the first Tuesday after the first Monday in November of 1980, is, of



The challenger: Smith announces for Kennedy  
Verdict: "We're on a merry-go-round."



The incumbent: Jimmy Carter campaigning last week in Warwick, R.I.

course, the presidency of the U.S. And the struggle for that prize promises to be extraordinarily long, expensive, bitter and important. There are many reasons for this, one being that the holder of the crown, President Jimmy Carter, intends to keep it and very much wants to govern until 1985.

But Carter, who once promised a wide range of populist reforms, including revisions of the tax and welfare systems, has been a great disappointment to many voters. He has presided over one of the worst outbreaks of inflation in American history (currently 13%, the highest since price controls were lifted at the end of World War II), and now, in an attempt to control that inflation, he is supporting policies that have caused the prime interest rate to rise to unprecedented levels (currently as much as 15%). The energy crisis, despite Carter's attempts to offer solutions in "the moral equivalent of war," is hardly less severe than when he came to office. In many ways it is worse. Prices of gasoline have risen from 60¢ to \$1 a gallon; severe shortages have occurred and threaten to return. The price of oil to heat homes has risen, since his sunny Inauguration Day, from 44¢ a gallon to more than 80¢. Carter can and does blame the nation's economic difficulties partly on a greedy OPEC, partly on a fractious Congress, partly on the profligate American public, partly on the limitations of presidential power. But the fact remains that he seeks public endorsement of his presidency in the face of highly unfavorable economic circumstances.

Because of these circumstances and as a result of an unsure style of leadership, Carter fell to levels of popularity lower than any other President in the history of polling, despite the absence of any major scandal in his Administration or any international catastrophe. His re-

strained and at times erratic performance has won him neither personal nor ideological devotion. His political weakness has attracted a large number of challengers in the Republican Party. More important, it has drawn onto the field a reluctant Senator Edward M. Kennedy, the flawed heir of Camelot.

In a rush to launch his campaign so that he can combat the power of the Car-

The ally: Shoeless Byrne endorses Kennedy





The Republican front runner: Ronald Reagan speaking to a gathering of Republican women in Indianapolis

ter incumbency. Kennedy this week will make the official announcement of his candidacy at historic Faneuil Hall in his native Boston. California Governor Jerry Brown, who has been planning his own run against Carter for more than a year, is expected to follow suit the next day at the National Press Club in Washington. Republican Howard Baker, the minority leader of the U.S. Senate, last week made his candidacy official. Next week former California Governor Ronald Reagan will announce his latest attempt. On this, his third time round, Reagan will enter the race as the early favorite for the Republican nomination.

**U**nderlying all specific issues as the full-scale campaigning begins, and with less than three months left until the first key test in the Iowa caucuses, are the role and power of the Government: the candidates want to lead. On the Republican side, there is a considerable harmony of views about reducing the size and influence of the Federal Government, lowering taxes, unfettering the private sector of the economy and increasing industrial productivity. Republican candidates are also generally calling for much heavier defense spending and a more aggressive, harder stance by the U.S. in foreign affairs. These candidates frequently note the turn to the right taken by voters in England and Canada this year and predict the oft-predicted end of the New Deal era of Big Government and big spending on lavish social programs. Says Baker: "There is a sea change coming in American politics. The country has been building toward it for years but was frustrated by Watergate." Says John Connally: "This will be the most important election in this century. And from the Democratic side, Ted Kennedy predicts: 'This will be a watershed period. Long-Shot Can-



Connally: "The most important election"



Baker: Announcing his candidacy  
"There is a sea change coming"

didate Brown agrees: "America is ready for a pattern shift in its political thinking. There will be some kind of political realignment. The nation is not governable without new ideas."

A colossal struggle is now under way for control of the Democratic Party. Carter and his troops regarded their victory in 1976 as the first step toward moving the party to a more centrist position. Carter's defeat of Alabama's George Wallace, they felt, saved the party from moving too far right. And their battle with Ted Kennedy is already seen from the White House as saving the party from New Deal liberalism. All over the country, Democrats are being pressured to pick sides.

Former Iowa Senator Dick Clark, an ambassador-at-large for refugee matters in the State Department, whom Carter had just designated as head of the new Cambodian relief effort, resigned last week to join the Kennedy campaign. Carter accepted the resignation with a snappish note. Chicago Mayor Jane Byrne told Carter three weeks ago that she would support him, according to John White, chairman of the Democratic National Committee, but last week she announced her pledge to Kennedy. This gives the Massachusetts Senator an important advantage in the critical Illinois primary next March. Morris Dees, Carter's chief fund raiser in 1976, switched sides to join Kennedy. Said he: "I am not disaffected with President Carter, but philosophically I'm much more attuned to the views of Senator Kennedy."

Concerned that his own re-election apparatus may not be adequate, Carter appears on the verge of some major shake-ups. Campaign Manager Tim Kraft is a likely victim. Former Democratic National Chairman Robert Strauss is considering abandoning his job as Special

## Nation

Ambassador to the Middle East to assume direction of the Carter-Mondale Committee.

Vice President Walter Mondale, once a liberal ally of Kennedy's in the Senate, heightened the Carter Administration's criticism of Kennedy and declared that the Senator has yet to give "an issue-based reason for seeking the presidency." Said Mondale: "The real danger is that it [the nomination battle] will be so bitter, so poisonous to the Democratic Party that no Democrat can win."

Indeed, Kennedy will need to justify his candidacy with reasons beyond his personality and ambition if he is to hold his lead over Carter in the polls. Already he has suffered some serious slippage against Carter (see following story). But the power of the Kennedy personality still makes him the most popular of all the presidential contenders.

Larger-than-life personalities are highly prized television commodities in this campaign, partly in contrast to Carter's low-keyed approach and partly because of the seemingly insoluble problems the nation faces. Kennedy used the word leadership 17 times in a recent speech in Philadelphia. On the Republican side, former Texas Governor and Nixon Treasury Secretary Connally managed to use the word five times in a 4½-minute television commercial that was aired last week across the nation on CBS at a cost of \$31,000.

**T**he Connally advertisement was the symbol of another element in the 1980 race: its length. The spot was one of the earliest national television advertisements ever purchased for a presidential race. But network executives have had to refuse to sell larger chunks of time to Reagan and Carter, saying that they do not want to give candidates access to the nets until 1980. Last week the Carter-Mondale Committee filed a complaint with the Federal Communications Commission, charging the networks with denying them reasonable access to air time.

The troublesome early start of campaign '80 is the result of the incredible burden the candidates face in having to compete for convention delegates in 36 primaries across the nation. In 1968 there were only 17 primaries, but now the need to organize in so many places, and the need to campaign personally in all sections of the country, has forced the rivals into ever earlier activity. Will the seemingly endless electioneering burn out both the workers and the voters long before next year's Election Day? In Florida, where Democrats are just recovering from the struggle over delegates to a state convention at which a meaningless straw vote will be taken, National Committeewoman Hazel Tally Evans laments, "It's totally out of hand, everything is happening much too early. There's no chance to catch your breath. We're on a

continual merry-go-round." The protracted campaign will also seriously disrupt the normal business of Government and perhaps lead to ill-conceived action in order to win votes.

Republican Front Runner Reagan risked the irritation of his supporters and the concerted challenge from such early entries as Connally and George Bush by delaying all serious campaigning. But now he too must enter the action. Says Reagan Campaign Manager John Sears: "Politics is motion and excitement. We must now run harder than if we were behind. Our biggest opponent is us. If we do our job right, nobody can catch us."

Reagan still claims the loyalty of about one-third of his party in state after state. The large number of Republican candidates (nine) challenging him tends to split the anti-Reagan vote and thus strengthen the front runner. Reagan, however, carries some weighty burdens. He is 68 years old. If he wins, he will be the oldest President ever elected in U.S.

history. Perhaps more important, the theatrics of American politics tends to make any three-time candidate seem showman.

The 1980 campaign will soon be a pitched battle among the candidates. But among the people who do the voting, the candidates will be viewed through a prism of what they seem to offer in the way of help on energy and inflation and America's place in the world. More than in any recent election, the country will be looking at the candidates skeptically, doubting their promises, almost cynical about their abilities to alter fundamentally the nation's course. Says Maine's Senator Edmund S. Muskie, himself a failed presidential candidate in 1972: "People no longer believe the system exists to solve problems. There is a quiet kind of bitterness out there."

Nonetheless, the system does exist to solve problems, and it is the only system by which the nation's problems will be solved. That makes campaign '80 a contest of true importance. ■

## Kennedy's Lead Is Shrinking

*A TIME poll shows Carter is within ten points of his rival*

**A**s long as Senator Edward M. Kennedy was not a candidate for the presidential nomination, he held a 2-to-1 lead over Jimmy Carter in most public opinion surveys. But now, just as he has officially declared his candidacy, his lead has been reduced to only ten percentage points, 49% to 39%. This sharp change is partly a rallying of Southern support behind Carter, partly a growing belief that Kennedy is "too liberal." Kennedy nonetheless remains the strongest Democratic candidate against all Republicans. Matched against Ronald Reagan, the Republican leader by far, Kennedy wins easily. These are among the findings of a survey of 1,027 voters conducted for TIME by the research firm of Yankelevich, Skelly & White Inc. The interviews were held Oct. 23 to 25.

In addition to Carter's marked recovery against Kennedy, the poll shows that the President has also strengthened his position against his possible Republican

opponents. In August, Carter trailed Reagan by four percentage points. But in the latest survey, he has regained the lead, 45% to 41%. Similarly, Carter has widened his lead over John Connally from four points in the late summer to 13 points now. Kennedy's advantage over these Republicans is, however, much wider.

Approval of Carter's handling of the nation's affairs has not increased. In fact, confidence in his economic, energy and foreign policies is dismally low (none has a favorable rating higher than 17%). What has worked in Carter's favor is the trust that voters still have in Carter as a

person. His rating in this area is scarcely impressive—voters were evenly divided among those who trust him and those who have doubts—but more voters express doubts about Ted Kennedy than express full trust in him (51% to 45%).

Some people close to Carter seem to be damaging him. The poll shows a highly unfavorable opinion of

**"Whom would you prefer as the Democratic nominee?"**  
Asked of Democrats and Independents





Hamilton Jordan, with 66% viewing him negatively. In addition, 56% of those surveyed say they are bothered by allegations of illegal drug use among the White House staff. Surprisingly, the President's mother, Lillian Carter, is viewed unfavorably by 55%. But Rosalynn, who some aides in the White House have suggested is taking too prominent a role in the campaign, is quite popular. Among those surveyed, 62% have a favorable impression of her while only 38% say they do not like her.

Kennedy's lead over Carter is based on the public's perception of his leadership ability. The Yankelovich organization asked voters whether the top candidates would be "very strong Presidents" or "not strong Presidents." The net difference between those measures provides a "leadership scale," which Kennedy dominates with a rating of +42 (56% say he would be a strong President and 14% say he would not). Carter, on the other hand, rates -31 on the scale, the lowest of any candidate in the field. Other figures were: Reagan +14, Connally +5, Baker +2, Bush -18, Brown -23.

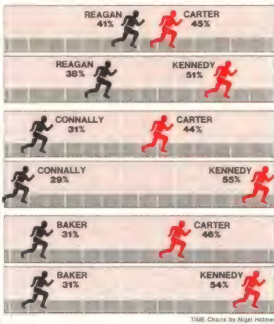
The level of confidence in Kennedy's ability to handle economic, energy and foreign affairs is nearly three times higher than Carter's abysmally low ratings. Yet only slightly more than a third of the voters express much confidence in Kennedy in these areas, suggesting a widespread skepticism about any President's ability to manage the nation well.

**C**ompared directly with Carter, Kennedy is rated a better speaker, more knowledgeable about how to get things done, more experienced, more dynamic, more attractive looking, a better campaigner with a better staff. He is not only credited with having a better personality but also, despite the continuing echoes of Chappaquiddick, with being better "in times of crisis." He is, however, rated less trustworthy, less honest and forthright, less morally upright, and not as good a family man as Carter.

When asked specifically about Chappaquiddick, 76% say, as did 79% in a TIME poll a year ago, that "it is time to forget Chappaquiddick and judge Kennedy by what he has done since then." Similarly, 63% say that the accident should not be an issue in the campaign. Nonetheless, 44% say that they are still bothered by Kennedy's part in the incident. Among independents and Democrats who prefer Carter to Kennedy, that figure is higher (55%), suggesting that Chappaquiddick is costing Kennedy support.

The challenge to an incumbent President has not hurt Kennedy's image as a loyal party man: 85% classify him as such. He carries a reputation as an outstanding

### "If the presidential election were held today, for whom in the following pairings would you vote?"



member of the U.S. Senate. But the feeling that his views are too liberal has begun to grow. A year ago, only 38% said he was too liberal, but that number has now jumped to 46%.

Other aspects of Kennedy's life do not, at the moment, seem to affect his political standing. Less than a quarter of those surveyed say they are bothered by the fact that the Senator and his wife Joan are living apart. Nor is Joan Kennedy herself any great political liability, since 52% view her favorably and 48% unfavorably. A sizable majority (61%) say, however, that they would worry a lot about the possibility of assassination if Kennedy becomes the next President.

Jerry Brown's political stock continues to drop toward the point where he may no longer be a viable candidate. Paired against Carter for the Democratic nomination, the California Governor loses badly, 63% to 24%, much worse than his 47%-to-31% standing in August. Only

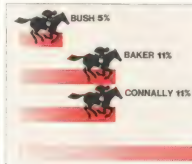
34% say he would be acceptable as the next President; 46% find him unacceptable.

On the Republican side, Ronald Reagan continues to hold a comfortable lead among Republicans and independents as their choice for the presidential nomination. Over the past seven months, during which Reagan has not seriously campaigned, his standing has actually improved. In April, 28% favored him, now 33% say he is their first choice.

Although Gerald Ford has declared that he will not be a candidate, he retired from the field with the support of 27% of Republicans and independents. John Connally and Howard Baker placed in a tie for third, with 11%. When Ford voters are transferred to the remaining candidates according to their second choice for the nomination, Reagan's lead increases impressively. With Ford out, Reagan wins 42%, while Connally and Baker get 17% and 16% respectively. George Bush remains a distant fourth with only 6%.

Connally's vigorous and expensive campaigning has so far brought no improvement in his standings. Nearly as many people find him unacceptable as President as find him acceptable (40% to 42%). Behind that resistance lie continued doubts about his probity: 42% say they "just don't trust him." Connally has attempted to make his negative image into a positive asset by appearing tough enough and clever enough to run the country effectively. Yet 62% say they perceive him as a "wheeler-dealer," and that contributes heavily to his overall unacceptability. Worse for Connally, his indictment and subsequent acquittal in the milk fund bribery case bother 51% of those asked: 42% say the milk fund case should be an issue in the campaign, compared with the 30% who think Chappaquiddick should be an issue.

The background of this election remains one of pessimism and economic worry. Sixty-nine percent say they feel the country is in "deep and serious trouble." Only 26% feel certain that the election results next year will cause a major improvement in economic conditions.



### "Whom would you prefer as the Republican nominee?"

Asked of Republicans and Independents



# He's Proud He's a Politician

*But Howard Baker faces long odds in his presidential bid*

"I'm proud of Joe because he is a politician and I'm proud that I'm a politician." Thus Senator Howard Baker, 53, sounded one of his main campaign themes last week at a dinner given by New York's Nassau County Republican Chairman Joseph Margiotta. Hands in his pockets, exuding an easy sincerity, the Senate minority leader gave an apt demonstration of the down-home-style politics that he hopes will carry him to the presidency. Last week he became the ninth Republican to declare his candidacy.

In making his formal announcement

(His grandmother succeeded her husband as sheriff; his stepmother followed his father into Congress.) After graduating from the University of Tennessee College of Law, he became a spellbinding courtroom attorney. Following an unsuccessful attempt in 1964, Baker was elected to the Senate two years later. He demonstrated his independence by opposing his own father-in-law, Senate Minority Leader Everett Dirksen, on Dirksen's effort to block the U.S. Supreme Court's one-man, one-vote decision. Baker was twice re-elected with large pluralities.



The newest Republican candidate formally opening his run in the Senate Caucus Room  
*Can he be "a President who knows Washington well enough to change Washington"?*

in the Senate Caucus Room, Baker stressed the need for a "President who knows Washington well enough to change Washington," because "surely we cannot withstand still more Washington inexperience." He billed himself as the candidate "who can win in the South and in the North, on the farms and in the cities, with the whites and with the black Americans, with the old and the young." He talked tough about the Soviets. Approval of SALT, he declared, would "guarantee to the Soviet Union the margin for error that used to be ours." He said the nation must have a President who will "face up to the realities of a Soviet foreign policy that probes every weakness and fills every vacuum."

Baker has politics bred into his bones. Born in the Cumberland Mountains of Tennessee, a pocket of Republicanism since the Civil War, he is the third generation of his family to go into politics.

Watergate, which ruined so many Republican reputations, added luster to his. As a member of the Senate Watergate committee, he appeared daily on television, sharply probing the President's men with courtroom techniques. Occasionally, his pronouncements lighted up the murky scene. "There are animals crashing around in the forest," he once remarked. "I can hear them, but I can't see them." Though some critics grumbled that he was too friendly with the Nixon White House early in the hearings, he emerged as a national figure and a front runner for Vice President on the 1976 Republican ticket. But Gerald Ford chose Senator Robert Dole, much to Baker's disappointment. Rumor had it that Baker was rejected at least in part because of the alcohol problems of his wife Joy, who had stopped drinking six months earlier.

Feeling he had been misused, Baker bounced back fast. He made a dramatic

entry into the race for Senate minority leader in 1977 and beat out the favored Senator Robert Griffin of Michigan. He proved surprisingly effective in a generally thankless job, welding the independent-minded Republican Senate barons into a cohesive opposition without making enemies. Says Nevada's G.O.P. Senator Paul Laxalt, Ronald Reagan's campaign chairman: "Nobody has a bad word to say about Howard."

In the Senate, Baker has aimed with a Tennessee marksman's instinct for the middle of most domestic political issues. He favors a constitutional amendment to achieve a balanced budget, but he also wants a provision to authorize deficit spending by a two-thirds vote of Congress. He backs the Equal Rights Amendment, but he voted against extending the deadline for ratification. He supported most civil rights legislation and sponsored clean air and water bills that created extensive new Government regulations. Today he is a staunch opponent of Big Government and excessive regulation. In foreign policy issues, Baker has taken independent and indeed courageous stands. After much soul searching, he backed the Panama Canal treaties.

Baker's Republican critics say that he compromises too much for his own good, that he is not partisan enough to rally the party faithful or to damage the Democrats. As a skilled photographer, Baker realizes that he must get his sometimes fuzzy political image into sharper focus. During the uproar over the Soviet brigade in Cuba, he attacked Carter for not responding vigorously, but then refused to say what action he felt should have been taken. "He doesn't want his hands tied," says his campaign manager, Indiana Senator Richard Lugar. "He will have to do better in getting across his point of view in a shorthand statement."

Running considerably behind Reagan and neck and neck with John Connally in the polls, Baker hopes to break away from his rivals in the primaries in Illinois, Wisconsin and Indiana. Since surveys indicate that he arouses less hostility than either Reagan or Connally, he thinks he can emerge as a compromise candidate. But he is not as well organized as fellow moderate George Bush, and his staff, led primarily by Tennesseans, is inexperienced in national politics.

At week's end, Bush also demonstrated that he may be a better stump speaker than Baker. Both candidates showed up at a G.O.P. forum in Portland, Me., where Bush won so much support with a blood-stirring campaign speech that he narrowly upset Baker in a presidential straw vote. The Tennessean had been expected to win because he had the backing of the state's popular Republican Senator William Cohen. Baker cannot afford many more such defeats if he is to build the kind of national consensus that he has so skillfully crafted in the Senate's smaller world.

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A newly assertive Carter waving to community leaders at New England reception

### The Presidency/Hugh Sidey

## Change in the Set of the Jaw

**P**resident Carter looks different. Older, gaunter, grayer, tired. All that is true. But it is something else.

Men and women who have worked with the President have looked up at the man across from them and seen something physically new, beyond the natural changes of aging. They have asked themselves exactly what it is—the intensity in the eyes, or the mouth line, or the fractional shift in his jaw set? No one seems quite sure. It could be as much what he says and how he says it. But from both the White House and beyond there is testimony that he is more of a President.

"He is challenged from within and from without," says one of his counselors. "That has changed him. He was always at his worst in those cerebral exercises of choosing the middle ground. He cannot do that now."

And so he ended months of dithering and sent arms to an ally in Morocco, agreed to modernize nuclear weapons in Europe and stood behind the higher interest rates invoked by the Federal Reserve.

This is curious commentary but one that leads back to earlier speculation. When it was noted that Carter had taken over a peaceful and prosperous nation, some historians suggested that it might be difficult for a man of so limited experience to learn very much in such a tranquil introduction to power. That does not seem so farfetched now.

Carter is in personal political crisis. The weight of Soviet power can be felt and seen. Economic stress is intense. Take the urgency generated by these dark developments and add three years of learning and it changes the profile.

A Carter speechwriter believes there was more of an internal metamorphosis at Camp David last summer than many understood. Carter has a deeper historical perspective, this aide says, a special feeling for the office. "I'm honestly persuaded now that he can be a President," says another of Carter's advisers. "If he could just start at the beginning with what he has learned in these past 34 months, he would be a very good President."

Drifting through the back corridors of the White House one picks up a fascinating catalogue of tiny refinements, adjustments and changes that Carter's people declare he has made in himself. Some of them: accepting the fact that others often know more than he does, sensing the impact of eloquence in the spoken word, understanding that there need be no conflict between morality and great power, acknowledging that people of wealth and position can help the nation, learning that litigating endlessly and sounding nice is not leadership and that preaching can often do more harm than good.

It is all a bit tardy. Even people who really admire and sustain Carter believe he is hanging by a slender political thread. With a provident combination of luck, hard work and fervent prayer, the President may, in the words of a friend, "just make it" back into office.

One can ponder why Carter's new maturity and depth did not arrive until his standing in the national opinion polls fell into the basement and his own warm political body was threatened. In that is an echo of the modern curse of personality politics. But that is less important if through some alchemy of these past weeks Jimmy Carter has joined the presidential club, likes it in there and wants to stay there badly enough to change himself. We all benefit.

## Quiet First Lady

Mamie Eisenhower dies at 82

**A**lmost everywhere the campaign train stopped in the fall of 1952 crowds chanted: "We want Mamie." Nobody was more startled by the cheering than Mamie Doud Eisenhower, the quiet, self-effacing woman who lived for her famous husband and had no appetite for public life. "Ike fights the wars," she said. "I turn the lamb chops."

As First Lady for eight years, she scarcely changed her life-style. She still delighted in pink ruffles, wore her trademark bangs, smiled continually and said little. She received thousands of letters imploring her to cut her bangs or to speak out on some issue. But she never did. "I think Ike speaks well enough for both of us," she explained. Ike, in turn, described Mamie as "my invaluable, indispensable but publicly inarticulate lifelong partner." In later years, Mamie responded to women's liberation by saying: "I never knew what a woman would want to be liberated from." A lifetime of stern inner discipline and outward amiability ended last week when Mamie died at 82 after a stroke.

**B**orn in Boone, Iowa, Mamie seemed destined for a quiet life. Though she attended finishing school, she persuaded her father, a prosperous meat packer, not to send her to college. While wintering in Texas in 1915, she met Ike, then an Army second lieutenant. Nine months later, the pair were married. For an Army wife, there was never a permanent home. "I have kept home in everything but an igloo," Mamie once said. "I long to unpack my furniture some place and stay forever." Their first child, Doud Dwight, died at three of scarlet fever. A second son, John, has had an Army career.

The Eisenhowers were inseparable until Ike was named Supreme Allied Commander and went to England to direct the invasion of Europe. He allegedly had a brief romance with the WAC who served as his driver, but after the war he was reunited with Mamie. When Ike finished his second term, the couple retired to a farm in Gettysburg, Pa., near the battlefield. After Ike's death in 1969, Mamie withdrew even further from the public eye. Asked last summer how she would like to be remembered by Americans, Mamie replied, as "just a good friend."



Ike and Mamie on leaving the Army

"I long to unpack and stay forever."





The new convertible TR7—the first new production convertible in a decade. Modern engineering has been skillfully wedded to legendary excitement in the newest Triumph, the TR7 convertible.

Its bold wedge shape cheats the wind at every turn. It handles the open road with competition-proven performance. Response of the 2-liter overhead cam engine is instantaneous and the 5-speed transmission is precision itself. For those who prefer not to shift, a 3-speed automatic is optional (not available in California).

The EPA estimate with manual transmission is 19 mpg, with a highway mileage of 28 mpg. Remember the circled EPA estimate is for comparison; your mileage may vary.

depending on speed, weather, and trip length. California figures are lower, and your actual highway mileage will probably be lower than the highway estimate.

TR7's list of sports car features will warm any purist's heart: MacPherson struts... rack and pinion steering... front disc brakes... and wide steel-belted radials. Refinement of the TR7 has led to numerous changes, from a modified cooling system to a new Triumph emblem. Triumph engineers even developed a unique front bumper for the convertible which helps filter out harmonic vibrations.

The interior of the TR7 is designed around the serious driver, and is at once both functional and comfortable. Controls and instruments have been logically and conveniently arranged for easier, more enjoyable driving.

Attractive and uncomplicated, TR7's convertible top gives you unobstructed vision through the 3-piece rear window. Putting the top up or down is a simple one-person operation.

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# Shootout in Greensboro

*An anti-Klan protest leaves four dead*

It is the birthplace of O. Henry and the home of several of the nation's largest textile mills. But Greensboro, N.C. (pop. 144,000), has also been the site of bitter racial conflict, dating back to sit-ins at lunch counters in the early 1960s and a riot in 1969 at a predominantly black local college that left one student dead. Nothing in Greensboro's past, however, came close to what happened last week: a shootout between Ku Klux Klansmen and anti-Klan protesters in which four people were killed and nine were wounded. The city's mayor, Jim Melvin, called it "one of the most hideous acts in America."

The tragedy came at a time of increasing tension in central North Carolina because of aggressive activity by the Klan. The racist organization has recently been challenged by a dogmatic Maoist group, the Workers Viewpoint Organization. It has perhaps 200 members, most of them in Los Angeles and New York City but a dozen or so in the Greensboro and Durham areas. In July two of the leftists showed up at a Klan rally in tiny China Grove, N.C., where they banged on doors, burned a Confederate flag, and got into fistfights with Klansmen.

Last month Viewpoint members passed out handbills inviting people to a "Death to the Klan" protest march on Saturday, Nov. 3, in a mostly black section of the city. The Maoist group urged the Klansmen to attend. Taunted March Organizer Paul Bermanzohn: "We invite you and your two-bit punks to come out and face the wrath of the people." The handbill described the Klan as "the most treacherous scum element produced by the dying system of capitalism."

In the bright morning sun on Saturday, about 100 blacks and whites gathered for the anti-Klan march among the grimy brick duplexes in Greensboro's Morningside Manor housing project. Most of the demonstrators were dressed in jeans and blue work shirts; some wore hard hats. Suddenly a mustard-colored van and several cars pulled up. They were filled with Klansmen and supporters who shouted racial slurs. The marchers responded by beating on the cars with sticks.

Then a dozen whites leaped out of the van and began firing pistols, shotguns and at least one automatic rifle at the demonstrators. Said Bermanzohn's wife Sally: "I saw a man in the right front seat of the lead car. He had a pistol. We shouted, 'He's got a gun!' Then I heard the firing start." Said Truck Driver Jeff Rackley: "It was just like a war movie, with everybody shooting all over



Anti-Klan protester and dead comrade



Klansmen arming themselves with weapons from the trunk of a car

*"It was just like a war movie, with everybody shooting and people screaming."*

the place and people screaming. I saw two people go down, a man and a woman." Added Photographer Don Davis: "One guy laid across the back end of the car and blew the side of a guy's head off." Clair Burton, her face caked with blood, told how a woman died in her arms. Said Burton: "The first thing that happened, I saw this Klansman waving his gun. The next thing we knew, there was shooting all over the place." According to eyewitnesses, some of the demonstrators fired back at the Klansmen with handguns.

The shooting went on for about four minutes before riot-helmeted police with shotguns cleared the streets. "We moved as soon as we could," insisted Police Chief William Swing in response to mounting criticism. "Until we saw weapons, no laws had been violated." All of the dead were anti-Klan demonstrators: Sandra Smith of Piedmont, S.C., and Caesar Cauce, William Samson and Jim Waller, residents of Greensboro. Wounded were two Klansmen and eight demonstrators, including Bermanzohn. Police arrested 14 people, including two marchers and twelve Klansmen. The Klan members were charged with murder. One demonstrator was charged with inciting to riot, the other with interfering with an officer.

After the dead and wounded were taken away in ambulances, police officers cordoned off the area. Left behind was the van, which still had a can of Mountain Dew on its dashboard and a red ribbon swinging from its rearview mirror. As the officers dispersed the onlookers, the faces of many of the people were streaked with tears and blood and some seemed to be in an ugly mood. Then the police and the citizens of Greensboro prepared for a weekend of tension and soul searching.



# Even the most enlightened consumer can get eaten alive in the hi-fi jungle.



There are probably a few places where the phrase "caveat emptor"—let the buyer beware—is more applicable than in high fidelity.

The average consumer walks into a hi-fi store only to be confronted by a morass of receivers, turntables and tape decks, running the gamut from the unaffordable to the unpronounceable. And to make matters worse, the salesman seems to speak some bizarre dialect about megahertz and transient response.

At Sony, we sympathize with the plight of the music lover caught in this rather distressing situation. And to this end we offer some reassurance:

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**The V4 receiver: You don't need an engineering degree to understand what makes it superior.**

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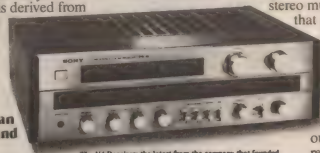
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Instead of using an inexpensive particle-board base like many of our competitors, the X30's base is made of a Sony patented "bulk molding compound" that reduces acoustic feedback.

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Or the way our new SSU-2070 speaker system guarantees you'll hear every part of the music with distortion reducing carbon fiber speaker cones. And a computer-designed speaker arrangement that makes sure you hear the music exactly as it was recorded.

The point of all this, however, is that for over three decades Sony has built superior audio equipment. Extraordinary products whose reputation for quality, value and reliability is unsurpassed.

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## Nation



Stock Exchange employee going to work; police hauling away a protester

## Capital Fallout

### Kudos for the Kemeny report

**"A** fair and balanced appraisal," said Wyoming Senator Alan Simpson, the senior Republican on the Senate subcommittee on nuclear regulation. Said Colorado Democrat Gary Hart, the subcommittee chairman: "It substitutes close scrutiny and hard criticism for the gloss and platitudes of past studies."

These raves were for the overall conclusions of a scathing report on the accident at Three Mile Island that was issued last week by a presidential commission headed by Dartmouth College President John Kemeny. The panel called the accident "inevitable" and said it was caused chiefly by inadequate training of the plant's operators and poor supervision by the federal Nuclear Regulatory Commission. The report criticized the industry and its regulators for being too concerned "with the safety of equipment, resulting in the down-playing of the importance of the human element."

To lessen the danger of future accidents, the commission recommended that plant operators be held to stricter training standards and that future plants be built far away from major population centers. The commission also urged that the NRC be replaced by a nuclear czar appointed by the President. This recommendation set off a sharp debate. NRC Commissioner Peter Bradford contended that a single administrator would do nothing to improve the Government's regulation of nukes. Said he: "This is not a meat-

inspection program." Replied Arizona Governor Bruce Babbitt, a Kemeny commission member: "The NRC is a headless agency that lacks the direction and vitality needed to police the nuclear power industry on a day-to-day basis."

There was also considerable controversy over the commission's 6-to-6 deadlock on whether to propose a temporary ban on the construction of any new nuclear power plants. Complained Democratic Congressman Edward Markey of Massachusetts: "After offering a truly blistering attack on the U.S. nuclear industry, the Kemeny commission simply failed to have the courage of its convictions."

But the commission's findings were cause enough for some Congressmen to change their minds about a ban. Said Arizona Democrat Morris Udall: "I now lean to the conclusion that there should be a moratorium until the industry and regulators get their houses in order." A moratorium of sorts already exists. There have been no new orders for nuclear plants in 1979; utilities are reluctant to invest in them because of costly delays in obtaining licenses. Thus, as Hart points out, "the future of the industry is going to be determined as much on Wall Street as in Washington."

Leaders of the antinuclear movement agree. Last week some 2,000 demonstrators crowded the narrow streets of New York City's financial district, urging that investors stop putting money into nuclear power companies. Singing the antinuclear anthem, *You Are My Sunshine*, the protesters surrounded the New York Stock Exchange and tried to keep brokers from entering. Police arrested 1,045 demonstrators, and business at the exchange went on as usual. Nonetheless, the antinuclear forces claimed a partial victory. "We've sent a message to the country," insisted Edward Cyr, 23, of Boston, as he tossed leaves, symbolizing nuclear waste, from inside a 10-ft. paper model of a nuclear plant cooling tower. ■

## Carter's Choice

### A judge for Education

**F**or his first Secretary of Education, President Carter said he wanted a "strong, creative thinker." He also wanted someone independent of the ubiquitous education lobbyists in Washington. Last week he announced his surprising choice: schoolmarmish Shirley Mount Hufstедler, 54, a federal appeals court judge in California.

Because her chief school ties are trusteeships, including ones at California Institute of Technology and Occidental College, her nomination was greeted coolly by professional educators. Said Phyllis Franck of the American Federation of Teachers: "She is a rather curious choice, but we are going to keep an open mind." Officials of the rival National Education Association said they were taking a "wait-and-see attitude" toward Hufstедler. The N.E.A. was the prime mover behind the new Cabinet post, first persuading Carter in 1976 that splitting education from HEW would make federal school programs more efficient and then helping him lobby the bill through Congress in September.

Soon afterward, Carter decided not to give the post to someone already in the field. He reasoned that only a non-educator could pull together the department's elements, which represent primary, secondary and higher education constituencies that for years have competed fiercely with each other for federal funds.

Said a White House aide: "Somebody



Secretary-designate Shirley Hufstедler

"I'm not a political creature."

\*This last proposal is similar to one made recently by scientists at the U.S.S.R. to their own government. Last week Soviet energy specialists disclosed that eventually all of the U.S.S.R.'s oil-fueled plants, which generate about 30% of the country's electricity, will be replaced with nuclear or coal-fired plants. The Soviet Union now has about 25 nuclear plants, second only to the U.S., which has 72. By 1981 the Soviets expect to have eight additional large ones in operation.

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## Nation

# The Crash of the Night Owl

*A DC-10 comes down on the wrong runway, killing 73 people*

already in education brings merit but also a lot of baggage. At some point, an educator will certainly lead the department. But for now, we wanted to retain some flexibility."

Hufstедler, however, has never held an administrative job, which led Rhode Island Democrat Claiborne Pell, chairman of a Senate education subcommittee, to question whether she has the "management and organization" skills to administer the new department, which will have 17,000 employees and a budget of \$14.2 billion. Her admirers do not share Pell's concern. Said Occidental Executive Vice President Robert Bovinette: "She puts things eloquently, and she has the ability to quickly penetrate complex problems."

Daughter of a construction worker and a schoolteacher, Hufstедler earned a bachelor's degree in business administration at the University of New Mexico ('45) in 2½ years. She worked briefly as secretary to Stars Paulette Goddard and Burgess Meredith, then enrolled at Stanford Law School, where she graduated tenth in her class ('49) and married the man who graduated No. 1. Seth Hufstедler. She practiced general civil law in Los Angeles until 1961, when Governor Edmund G. ("Pat") Brown named her a Los Angeles County superior court judge. In 1966 he promoted her to the California Court of Appeal.

Two years later, Lyndon Johnson appointed her to the U.S. Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals. She and her husband, who now serves as counsel to a state commission investigating the California Supreme Court, live in a modest, ranch-style house in Pasadena. Their only child, Steven, 26, is a medical student at the University of California at Irvine.

**C**olleagues on both sides of the bench describe Judge Hufstедler as lively and vivacious, and an extremely able jurist. She turns out about 100 opinions a year, which are usually well written and well reasoned. Her decisions have been popular with liberals, civil rights leaders and women. She is considered a moderate to liberal Democrat, but she calls herself "independent minded." Says she: "I'm not a political creature."

Still, Hufstедler is politically savvy enough not to close the door on a position she has long coveted: that of being the first woman on the U.S. Supreme Court. Before agreeing to become Secretary of Education, she extracted a promise from Carter that he would not preclude her from any future Supreme Court vacancy. For now, however, she is content to concentrate on education. To reporters, she insisted that her "life-long interest" in education qualified her for the post. She admitted, however, that she does not "have any specific ideas right now about the Department of Education because I simply don't know enough about the entire program."

In his 30 years as a pilot with Western Air Lines, Captain Charles Gilbert, 53, had made the run between Los Angeles and Mexico City hundreds of times. The last occasion had been in late October, six days after Runway 23-L, which is the only one at Benito Juárez International Airport equipped for instrument landings, had been closed for repairs. Last week, before he took off at 12:50 a.m. from Los Angeles in command of Flight 2605, the "Night Owl," carrying 13 crew members and 75 passengers, he was reminded that he had to land on Runway 23-R.

Three hours later, Gilbert began his descent. It was especially complicated because the approach lights on the closed

naga, a building contractor from Stockton, Calif., recalled that just before the crash, "the captain came on with the usual speech. Ten seconds later, we had this mean bump, and I said to myself, 'That's probably the worst landing I've ever had.' Then all hell broke loose."

What caused Gilbert's error? That will take weeks to determine. But the cockpit crew seemed fatigued; Gilbert and his aides were late in doing their final checks as they approached the runway. In addition, Benito Juárez Airport is one of 250 with a red-star rating from the International Federation of Air Line Pilots' Associations, meaning that the airport is "severely deficient." The only worse rat-



**Wreckage of Western Air Lines Flight 2605 after hitting building in Mexico City**

*Warned the tower: "You are at the left of the track." Replied the pilot: "Just a little bit."*

Runway 23-L, which pilots usually follow to guide their planes down, had been shut off. The Mexican controllers instructed Gilbert to line up his plane over an undisclosed ground reference point. He reported that he had done so, but Controller Luis Munguia warned: "You are at the left of the track." The pilot replied confidently, "Just a little bit."

He was tragically wrong. The DC-10 touched down on the closed runway and headed toward a dump truck. Gilbert apparently realized his mistake and tried, too late, to lift the DC-10 back into the air. The plane smashed into the truck, veered wildly to the right, wound up slamming into an Eastern Air Lines maintenance building and burst into flames. The final death count was 73: a total of 60 passengers, eleven crew members, including Gilbert, and two people on the ground.

Fifteen passengers and two crew members survived. Passenger Dwane Ca-

ling is a black star for "critically deficient," which the IFALPA has given to 19 airports (the only one in the U.S. is Los Angeles International). Among the reasons for the Mexico City airport's low rating are deficiencies in electronic navigational aids and landing equipment. Moreover, a standard map of the airport distributed to pilots carries this warning: "CAUTION: Street lights approximately one mile north of ... Runway 23-L may be mistaken for runway lights in conditions of low visibility." Gilbert was reading a copy of the map on the way down. And, at the time of the crash, both runways were in fact blanketed by ground fog.

The fiery crash pointed to no new mechanical deficiencies in the DC-10, which was grounded in the U.S. for 37 days after one lost an engine and crashed shortly after takeoff from Chicago on May 25, killing 273 people. But that is cold consolation indeed.

# How CBS on October 24, 1979, prefabricated the news.

October 24 was the day we announced Mobil's third-quarter earnings. We did so in a 10-page news release explaining most of the information on our profits. But it was all a total waste of time—as far as CBS News was concerned. Because CBS had prefabricated most of its report—and all of its thesis—about our earnings well before we announced them. So our effort to convey useful information to the public on our earnings—about how and where they were made—didn't stand a chance. The actual news didn't fit the scenario CBS had constructed—and the fact that their scenario didn't have the slightest relation to our earnings didn't seem to bother CBS at all.

Here now is the story of some manufactured news.

## What the Public Saw and Heard

Transcript as taken from taping of CBS-TV Evening News, October 24, 1979

**WALTER CRONKITE:** Good evening. Five more oil companies today reported huge profit increases for the third quarter, among them the giant Mobil, whose July-August-September profits were 131% higher than the same quarter last year. SOHIO reported a 191% gain, Sun was up 65%, CITGO up 64% and Marathon up 58%. Ray Brady reports.

**RAY BRADY:** Mobil, like other international oil companies, says the big profits were not made here, but in foreign markets, which would mean that foreign consumers were the ones getting hit. Abroad though, a top analyst of the world oil industry says that is not necessarily so.

**MARTIN BEUDELL, "British Oil Analyst":** They are a great scapegoat in the U.S., the oil industry, the energy industry. So, you are inclined to do that, to de-emphasize your home profits and stress what you make overseas.

**RAY BRADY:** American critics charge that it is simply a matter of bookkeeping, to earn a foreign profit from an American consumer.

**EDWIN ROTHSCHILD "Energy Action Educational Foundation":** Every time he goes and buys a gallon of gasoline for a dollar a gallon, some of that profit is made in the United States, but the rest of the profit these companies earn is spread around their foreign subsidiaries.

**RAY BRADY:** Roughly 40% of our oil comes from abroad, about 1/6 of it already refined. The oil companies say there are limits on what they can charge, but critics say for \$18 they can buy a barrel of oil in Saudi Arabia, then it might make the long trip to a refinery in the Caribbean, where they can sell it to their own subsidiary or another company for \$25. After costs, the difference of \$7 is profit—a foreign profit earned abroad. Once the oil is refined, it

could go to the U.S., the critics go on, sold to a marketing firm for a price of, say, \$35. After costs, the difference of \$10 is more foreign profit. The oil companies argue that many of their profits go to their stockholders as dividends. The government would like to put a windfall profits tax on some of those profits earned in this country, but oil company critics say that would simply result in the oil companies coming up with more foreign profits.

Ray Brady, CBS News, New York.



## What the Public Wasn't Told

• **The CBS Build-up.** We should have seen this curveball coming, but we didn't. Even before we had the final third-quarter numbers from our accountants, CBS-TV reporter Ray Brady was on the Evening News October 23rd telling viewers that Mobil Oil's "profit report" was due on the following day and that "oil analysts say they expect the company's increase in profits will be spectacular."

The following morning—again before our news release was cleared by Mobil management—CBS followed up "spectacular" with "tremendous"—this time using Bob Schieffer on the October 24th CBS Morning News to report that "Mobil is scheduled to announce its third-quarter earnings today, and the company's profit increase is expected to be tremendous."

CBS News knew about the film they had ready to roll. We didn't.

• **The Third Strike.** On October 24th we kept getting phone calls from CBS reporter Ray Brady's researcher, asking for the news release on our earnings. We said we hoped to get the numbers approved and our release issued during the afternoon. We got it out at 4:45 p.m.—and quickly dispatched messengers with the 10-page release to the newspapers, the wire services, and network news departments—including CBS (CBS signed for it at 5:30 p.m.—an hour and a half before they went on the air).

At 5:20 p.m. we called the CBS researcher to offer an oral summary of the more important statistics and the reasons for them. This was our first inkling that somebody was laying for us—because CBS didn't want the detail, wasn't interested in the sources of our improved earnings. All the researcher wanted was the earnings themselves, for third-quarter and nine-months of 1979 and the comparable figures for 1978. The researcher took the figures on Mobil's worldwide petroleum earnings per gallon sold but declined figures describing rates of return.

We thought then that we knew what was coming. We figured CBS would stress our third-quarter gain of 131 percent in comparison with third-quarter 1978—and they did. We figured they wouldn't say a word about the analysis and perspective on our earnings, although these were in our news

release. And they didn't.

But we never suspected that CBS was merely going to plug our numbers into a prefabricated story that really had nothing to do with them—the worst, the most unfair, report on Mobil earnings that we've ever seen!

## What the Public Should Know

Take another look at the way Ray Brady explained how oil companies "earn a foreign profit from an American consumer"—and finished his story posed in front of the Mobil sign. Once such an irresponsible flight of fantasy is launched, it is impossible for the target to avert it. The damage is done.

But we can put the facts before the public today, and let the public decide on their merits. And here, in specific detail, is how CBS News played fast and loose with the truth on October 24th.

**1. The thesis developed by CBS News about foreign earnings bore absolutely no relationship to the earnings the viewer was led to believe were under discussion; namely, Mobil's.**

Brady's report implied that U.S. energy profits are being hidden abroad, in foreign subsidiaries, by using phony book-keeping prices. But the announcement that we issued on October 24—and that CBS ignored—went into great detail on the sources of our foreign earnings, and made it obvious that they could in no way fit the pattern described by CBS. If CBS had bothered to check, they could have learned easily that U.S. tax law and price control regulations forbid the scam they describe. Mobil does not engage in such practices—and after countless investigations of our activities by the U.S. Congress and the Department of Energy, and after regular and thorough audits by the Internal Revenue Service, nobody has ever suggested that we've even tried to do it. We pay U.S. taxes on our U.S. profits—and the Internal Revenue Service makes sure all our U.S. profits are included.

Brady dismissed the industry case with the comment, "oil companies argue that many of their profits go to shareholders as dividends." Why didn't he say that an amount in excess of our profits is being invested in finding and producing more energy, especially here in the United States? This is the point we have made time and again that he chose to ignore.

**2. The thesis developed by CBS News about our earnings was developed even before the earnings—and their sources—were announced.**

The "British oil analyst" clearly was interviewed before Mobil's earnings were announced and before we had given any information on the source of these earnings. We suspect that his sandwiched 17-second "interview" on the program was part of a much larger interview which might have put his remarks in quite different context than the scenario Brady unfurled. But when we asked CBS to let us look at the full tape of this interview, and even to tell us how lengthy it was, we were refused. We also asked CBS to tell us who else was interviewed but not aired (perhaps because they were at odds with Brady's thesis). This request, too, was denied.

The American "expert" interviewed was from the Washington-based Energy Action Educational Foundation, a virulent anti-oil group that can often be found, as here, quoting fantasy as fact. What is Energy Action? Who are the private individuals who provide its funds? What kind of changes are they really trying to bring about in America through their repeated attacks on our country's energy industry? These are answers Brady owed his viewers before presenting an Energy Action spokesman as a seeming authority.

Worse: the viewer was given the distinct impression that Energy Action's charges, with their implications of illegality, applied to Mobil—which they most emphatically did not.

CBS asked us nothing about any relationship we might have to the scenario of its "expose." We could have told them this:

• Mobil bills all our Saudi oil to our U.S. and worldwide operations at the official Saudi prices (plus freight, which results in nothing like the \$7 a barrel "profit" Brady put forward!) If the Saudi charge for a barrel of oil is \$18, that plus freight is the charge paid by any Mobil refinery. And what we charge U.S. refineries is the same cost that goes into our U.S. pricing calculations—which are monitored by the U.S. Government. This same procedure also applies to oil from other sources.

• The Internal Revenue Service won't permit hiding profits abroad. The Department of Energy requires that transfer prices represent fair market value—not artificially kited prices produced through some internal shell game. Earnings made abroad, whether they be from production abroad, refining abroad, inventory profits, or currency conversions, are foreign earnings. Earnings from U.S. operations are U.S. earnings—and they are reported and taxed as U.S. earnings.

• Mobil allocates crude oil to its worldwide facilities and customers based on historical demand patterns, not based on the whimsical scheme Brady projects.

**3. When we questioned CBS about its prefabrication, we were told that its reporter simply used a news technique called "hunching the story."**

CBS thought that Mobil's earnings abroad would be large—and prepared a story in advance about the sources of those foreign earnings: a story they must have known was wrong when they received our announcement. In utter disregard of the easily ascertained facts—the true sources of our foreign earnings, our pricing of Saudi oil at the official Saudi prices, U.S. laws against the scheme they described—they recklessly proceeded with their "hunch" and put it on the air beside the Mobil sign.

**4. Even when we told CBS News of its mistake, the network refused to give us an opportunity to correct the erroneous impression its broadcast had created.**

We followed our oral request for clarification with a written request for an opportunity to present our response to their grossly misdirected "hunch." CBS News refused.

## What the Public Should Understand

Much of the immoderate and inflammatory rhetoric about oil company earnings published during the last few days is the result of this sort of biased and careless presentation of energy news. Such shoddy TV journalism is inflaming a public that would have understood the facts, honestly presented. We hear Governor Byrne of New Jersey charging that the oil companies have been "taking advantage of oil shortages and making a profit on long gas lines." President Carter says some oil company profits are "unearned" and threatens legislation "which could be quite punitive to the oil industry." Many other public figures have been violent in their condemnation of oil industry earnings.

No wonder—if they think, as CBS News suggested, that foreign profits are made by selling Saudi crude from one to another of our own subsidiaries and raising the price steeply with each transaction.

It isn't happening. We don't do it—and we don't know of any company that does. And it would have been easy for CBS News to discover the truth.

Based on the foregoing, it is clear that an injustice was done not only to Mobil and the rest of the oil industry, but to the American public's need to know the facts. If our nation is to develop sound energy policy it is critically important that the public and our national leaders receive forthright and accurate information.

# Mobil®

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## World

COVER STORY

# Deathwatch: Cambodia

*The world reaches out in a frustrating effort to succor a stricken people*

It is a country soaked in blood, devastated by war, and its people are starving to death. Every day numbed witnesses to the appalling tragedy that has consumed Cambodia trek across the border into Thailand. Stumbling on reed-thin legs through the high elephant grass that grows along the frontier, they form a grisly cavalcade of specters, wrapped in black rags. Many are in the last stages of malnutrition, or are ravaged by such diseases as dysentery, tuberculosis and malaria. Perhaps the most pathetic images of all are those of tearful, exhausted mothers cradling hollow-eyed children with death's-head faces, their bellies swollen, their limbs as thin and fragile as dried twigs. Since early October, an estimated 80,000 Cambodians have made it safely across the border, and perhaps 250,000 others are clustered in the western provinces of the country, waiting for their chance to escape. They are the lucky ones. Relief agencies believe that as many as 2.25 million Cambodians could die of starvation in the next few months unless a vast amount of aid is provided soon.

With food and proper care, most of the adults in the refugee camps have a chance for full recovery. Many of the children, however, have already suffered permanent brain damage and bone deformation as a result of malnutrition. The riveting photographs of these innocent victims of regional avarice and ethnic hatreds have helped arouse universal horror at the ordeal of Cambodia. In 1975 the country had a population of approximately 8 million; as many as 4 million Cambodians have died since then.

No nation on earth has seen more suffering in the past decade than this once tranquil and fertile land. Though neutral in the early years of the Viet Nam War, Cambodia unwittingly became a base for the Viet Cong and North Vietnamese, and the target of savage U.S. bombings. Its popular Chief of State, Prince Norodom Sihanouk, was overthrown by Premier



Skulls from a mass grave that are believed to be relics of genocide

bodia itself could be the ultimate casualty of war.

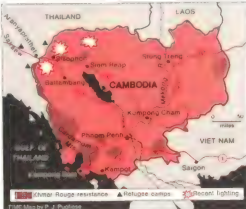
Efforts to mount a vast international relief campaign gathered force last week as visitors to refugee camps in Thailand and to the interior of Cambodia returned with searing eyewitness accounts of mass starvation. Three U.S. Senators, the first American officials to visit the Cambodian capital of Phnom-Penh since the fall of Lon Nol, testified before Edward Kennedy's Senate Judiciary Committee that famine and disease threatened to extinguish the entire Cambodian people. Republican John Danforth of Missouri said he and his colleagues had visited camps in Thailand that were simply "ground with people strewn

over it." Danforth argued that "hundreds of thousands of people lare[?] at death's door. We saw people who couldn't walk 100 yards." Said Democrat James Sasser of Tennessee: "The human suffering we found was so deep and pervasive that I don't have the words to adequately describe it."

In Phnom-Penh, officials of the Heng Samrin regime reluctantly conceded to the Senators that at least 2.25 million Cambodians faced extreme "hunger" and that 165,000 tons of rice were needed in the next six months. Nonetheless, the government turned down the Senators' proposal to open a truck route from Thailand that would greatly increase deliveries of famine relief supplies by

the International Red Cross, UNICEF and other agencies. Phnom-Penh officials were obviously more concerned about preventing food from falling into the hands of the Khmer Rouge insurgents than they were with saving hundreds of thousands of Cambodians from starvation and death. Condemning the obstructionist tactics that have thus far limited relief supplies to a fraction of the need, Danforth observed: "If a government is determined to murder its own people, I don't know how to stop it."

At a press conference, Secretary of State Cyrus Vance pleaded with "those



TIME Map by P. J. Phillips

Lon Nol in 1970. Lon Nol was in turn deposed by Pol Pot when the Khmer Rouge, as the Cambodian Communist forces are called, took over the country in 1975. After four years of mass terror and murder under the Khmer Rouge the Vietnamese invaded Cambodia last December and installed a puppet regime headed by President Heng Samrin.

Cambodia's agony continues. Hanoi, with 180,000 soldiers operating in the country, has now embarked on an intensive effort to wipe out the remaining Khmer Rouge forces loyal to Pol Pot. Unless the fighting is halted soon, Cam-



who control the territory and the population" of Cambodia to put "humanitarian concerns ahead of political or military advantage" and allow food and medical supplies to be brought into the starving country by land, sea and air. Vance said that he would represent the U.S. this week at a special U.N. conference on the Cambodian catastrophe; he also reaffirmed President Carter's pledge of \$69 million to the international relief effort. Said Vance: "I can think of no issue now before the world community and before every single nation that can lay greater claim to our concern and to our action."

**O**n the Senate floor, Republican Jacob Javits of New York and Democrat Claiborne Pell of Rhode Island urged that the U.S. and other countries establish a huge airlift of food and medicine into Cambodia if Phnom-Penh persists in refusing to allow a "land bridge" for trucks to enter Cambodia from Thailand with supplies. A bipartisan group of 68 House members urged Carter to set up a joint airlift with the Soviet Union. The plan was first suggested by the Rev. Theodore Hesburgh of the University of Notre Dame. Said he: "I'm perfectly willing to ride in the lead truck and get shot in the process rather than sit back and have it on my conscience that I did nothing to stop a second holocaust." Hesburgh also suggested that the U.S. withhold grain sales to the Soviet Union unless the Kremlin collaborates in making 150,000 tons available to the Cambodians immediately. Robert Byrd of West Virginia, the Senate majority leader, contacted Soviet Ambassador Anatoli Dobrynin in an appeal to Moscow to persuade Phnom-Penh to allow food to be trucked in. At the same time, Kennedy is supporting a move to increase the amount of aid pledged by President Carter from \$69 million to \$99 million.

In Western Europe, the plight of the Cambodians also sparked wide-scale efforts. For the French, who had ruled Cambodia for 90 years, until 1953, compassion ran high for their former colonial subjects. This week's U.N. conference is the result of an initiative by French Foreign Minister Jean François-Poncet. His earlier appeal for more aid to Cambodia spurred a nationwide "S O S Cambodia" campaign that has raised \$2 million from French citizens. Three French medical teams are working in refugee camps in Thailand, while the hospital ship *Île de la Lumière*, which is now headed for Thailand, has cared for thousands of Cambodian and other Indochinese refugees. Even the French Communist Party has offered to help the starving Cambodians through a "Sanitary and Medical Aid Committee for the Cambodian people."

From Britain, a Hercules plane has been flying 15 tons of supplies a day into Phnom-Penh's airport. The Australians have provided three charter flights and 80 tons of food and medicine. The Jap-

KUHN AGENTS



Refugee child at a camp in Thailand



Clockwise from top: corpses in a common grave; family arrives at Thailand refugee camp; hungry children stare past barbed wire at Sakaew

anese government has approved a \$4.5 million emergency grant for Cambodian refugees and has recruited a team of medical volunteers to work in the camps. The scores of countries participating in this week's U.N. conference on Cambodia are expected to pledge considerably more assistance. Among them will be the U.S.S.R. Although the Soviets have done nothing to assist Western aid efforts, they are expected to boast of their food shipments to Cambodia, though it is unclear how much of this food is channeled to the occupying Vietnamese forces.

Responding angrily to the worldwide clamor, the Heng Samrin government has condemned the international aid offers as a "maneuver by the imperialists and international reactionaries" to assist the Khmer Rouge insurgents. Justifying its refusal to allow relief supplies to be brought in by truck, the government claimed that the port of Kompong Som and the airport of Phnom-Penh were "perfectly adequate" for the purpose. But according to on-the-scene investigations by the three U.S. Senators, only 12,000 tons of food and medicine can be brought in by air and ship each month, whereas 30,000 tons can be delivered by trucks alone. Docks at Kompong Som have been destroyed. One particularly poignant obstacle to deliveries by ship was discov-

ered by Oxfam officials. They found that dock workers at Kompong Som are so enfeebled by malnutrition that they cannot unload heavy shipments of food from deep-draught freighters. According to UNICEF Executive Director Henry Labouisse, Phnom-Penh officials have instructed the U.N. agency not to send anything that weighs more than 50 kilos (110 lbs.) "because people are too weak to carry anything heavier."

**D**espite the best efforts of the Thais and international relief agencies, the aid being provided to the 80,000 Cambodian refugees who have reached Thailand is makeshift and inadequate. TIME Hong Kong Bureau Chief Marsh Clark last week visited a camp that had been hastily set up to care for 30,000 refugees at Sakaew, 40 miles west of the Cambodian frontier. Most of the refugees had taken shelter from blinding rainstorms in huts constructed of poles and plastic sheets; small blue tents had been set up for dozens of orphans. Field kitchens were preparing high-protein rice gruel for the starving, while field hospitals tended to the sick, some of whom were laid out on mats on the muddy ground. Women were bathing their babies in mud puddles. Though latrines had been dug, most of the refugees were too ill or too

weary to use them. "They defecate where they stand or where they sleep," said one UNICEF official.

Reported Clark: "In a single one-hour period, I saw four dead bodies in the Sakaew camp. One was lying in the muddy track that runs down the middle of the camp, covered by a blanket. Nobody paid any attention to it. Another was that of a woman who was already in *rigor mortis*, her feet sticking stiffly out from the end of a yellow cloth her husband had thrown over her. The husband sat in a daze while people in the adjoining makeshift shelters not more than four feet away were going about their business of cooking, eating and sleeping as if the dead woman were not there. 'I've got a body here,' I heard one young volunteer shout to an official. 'What do I do with it?' The official shrugged. 'Throw it out back with the others,' he said. The bodies collected in the rear of the camp are then gathered up, placed on ox carts, and taken to a nearby Buddhist temple for burial.

"Besides the sick and hungry refugees, the camp also contained a contingent of Khmer Rouge soldiers who had been beaten back into Thailand over the past three weeks by a Vietnamese offensive in the border areas. Though far better fed than the other refugees, toughened to hardship and accustomed to living by



Relief for the lucky ones: Cambodians arriving at Ban Kaeng, after bus ride from smaller camps near Thai border

their wits in the jungle, the Khmer Rouge and their entourage had clearly reached the limit of their endurance. They did not look like human beings in the accepted sense of the term but rather like wild animals, completely brutalized. They slept huddled side by side like beasts in a cage. They seldom spoke and kept their eyes cast downward. They seemed so pathetic that it was almost possible to forget the abominable cruelties they had committed in trying to establish a new Communist civilization at a cost of millions of Cambodian lives."

In essence, it was Cambodia's unwilling role as a pawn in the Indochinese wars that led to what U.N. Secretary-General Kurt Waldheim calls "a national tragedy that may have no parallel in history." In the mid-1960s the country's peaceful mode of life, under the benevolently authoritarian rule of Prince Sihanouk, was suddenly imperiled by the Viet Nam conflict. At the time, Cambodia was an overwhelmingly agricultural country that exported rice. Though it could hardly have been termed prosperous—per capita income was only \$110 a year—its people lived relatively well by Asian standards. Unfortunately, the Cambodian army was weak and poorly equipped; Sihanouk was unable to prevent the Viet Cong and the North Vietnamese from using parts of the

country as sanctuaries and resupply routes for their forces in South Viet Nam. The existence of these sanctuaries led the U.S. to launch what would become highly controversial secret bombing raids over Cambodia in 1969 and to invade the country the next year. In March 1970, while Sihanouk was in Moscow, he was ousted in a coup organized by Premier Lon Nol, an army marshal with mystical tendencies. Even with an infusion of U.S. supplies, Lon Nol proved unable to cope with the Vietnamese and the growing guerrilla army of the Khmer Rouge. The five years of fighting that followed put Cambodia well on its way to the cruel hunger of today. By 1974 the U.N.'s World Health Organization and the U.S. Senate Refugees Subcommittee reported that malnutrition was already a severe problem.

In his angry book *Sideshow Kissinger, Nixon and the Destruction of Cambodia*, British Journalist William Shawcross has charged that the bombing and invasion of the country set the stage for the Khmer Rouge conquest of Cambodia. U.S. policy, Shawcross argued, "was creating an enemy [the Khmer Rouge] where none had previously existed." In his memoirs, Henry Kissinger answered that the North Vietnamese were the first to violate Cambodia's neutrality, and that it is outrageous

to blame American policy for the horrors that the Khmer Rouge unleashed on its own people after the collapse of the Lon Nol government in 1975.

**T**he ideological guru of the Khmer Rouge was Cambodia's former head of state, Kheuv Samphan. While a graduate student in France during the 1950s, he argued in a doctoral dissertation that a Communist-run Cambodia should "withdraw from the world economy and restructure the local economy on a self-centered basis" in order to purge the country of "decadent colonial influences." With unspeakable brutality, this deceptively bland program was imposed on "Democratic Kampuchea" (as that country was renamed) by the government of Premier Pol Pot after the Khmer Rouge took power. Phnom-Penh, once a placid, luxury-loving city of broad avenues and towering hibiscus trees, became a ghost town as the Khmer Rouge force-marched the city's refugee-swollen population to resettlement on rural communes that were no better than slave-labor camps. Even the wounded were prodded at gunpoint from hospital beds—and left to die along the roadside if they were too weak to walk. At the camps, Cambodians of all ages were forced to work from dawn until after dusk plant-



A refugee boy comforts his brother; a Red Cross worker washes emaciated Cambodian; a U.S. volunteer hands out emergency rations

ing rice. Families were separated, Buddhism abolished as the state religion and virtually every trapping of civilization disappeared: postal services, telephones, currency, freedom of speech, freedom of assembly.

A major goal of the Khmer Rouge was to destroy the intelligentsia. People who wore glasses were killed, on the suspicion that they knew how to read or write. Of the 500 physicians in Cambodia in 1975, only 57 survived the Khmer Rouge purge. People suspected of lagging on the job were punished by death, rendered by a hatchet blow on the back of the neck, or, as many refugees have reported, by evisceration. Groups of children who were found guilty of being the offspring of "undesirables" were reportedly chained together, then buried alive in bomb craters under dirt that was shoveled on top of them by bulldozers. Between 1975 and 1978, from 2 million to 3 million Cambodians died at the hands of the Khmer Rouge.

The Khmer Rouge excesses were condemned almost everywhere except in China, which had long favored an independent Cambodia, one that would be outside North Viet Nam's sphere of influence. Peking propped up the Pol Pot regime with vast amounts of military and economic aid. The North Vietnamese,

meanwhile, never gave up their dream of taking all of Indochina. In early 1978 Hanoi used the excuse of some Khmer Rouge raids on Vietnamese border villages to invade Cambodia. Ostensibly, the Vietnamese soldiers involved were "volunteers" assisting a "National Salvation Front" headed by Heng Samrin and other obscure Khmer Rouge defectors. Last Christmas the Vietnamese and Heng Samrin's Cambodians launched a major assault on provincial capitals. On Jan. 7, Pol Pot and his surviving cadres abandoned the capital and fled to a Khmer Rouge mountain hideout.

**C**ambodia's years of genocide were over, but the hunger problem was made worse, if possible, by the Vietnamese conquest. Hanoi's forces, numbering about 180,000, found themselves locked in a war with 20,000 to 30,000 dogged Khmer Rouge guerrillas, who still control much of the countryside. As a result of the continuing war, food has become a weapon on both sides. The Khmer Rouge routinely ravage the new paddyfields planted under the Vietnamese occupation. Not only are the Cambodians starving, but even the Vietnamese troops are said to be on short rations. Many of the Khmer Rouge have been pressed back into hilly, thickly jungled areas where rice

cannot be grown. Still, the Khmer Rouge eat almost as well as they always have, it is the civilian slave laborers they force to accompany them who are starving.

Systematic pillaging by Vietnamese troops has compounded the country's plight. Cambodian shops, homes and Buddhist temples have been stripped by Hanoi's invaders. Machines, household appliances, furniture and Buddha heads have been loaded aboard planes and trucks and shipped to Viet Nam. There are even reports that the Vietnamese are loading rice intended for refugees aboard carriers headed for Hanoi.

Hanoi's disregard of the plight of the Cambodians has been reinforced by the enmity between the two peoples. The Vietnamese have long regarded the Cambodians as treacherous barbarians who had the impudence to revolt against their domination in 1840. Observed Minh Mang, the Vietnamese emperor at the time: "We helped the Cambodians when they were suffering and lifted them out of the mud. Now they are rebellious. I am so angry that my hair stands upright. Hundreds of knives should be used against them, to chop them up, to dismember them."

Partly as a result of this historic hostility, Viet Nam has been unable to colonize or pacify Cambodia effectively. No



## World

one, least of all the Cambodians, believes that the present regime in Phnom-Penh is anything other than a Hanoi puppet government. Many analysts think that Cambodia is being run by a high council in Hanoi, headed by Vietnamese Politburo Member Le Duc Tho, who was co-winner (with Henry Kissinger) of the 1973 Nobel Peace Prize for having brought peace to Indochina. Tho refused to accept the honor.

The Cambodians hate their Vietnamese conquerors, but they live in deathly fear of the Khmer Rouge, who have not abandoned their politics of terror. Though it is not known for sure whether Pol Pot survived his ouster by the Vietnamese last January, he is widely believed to command his guerrilla forces from hideouts in the Cardamom Mountains of southwest Cambodia. Other known areas of Khmer Rouge strength are in the heavily forested northeast and the mountainous west. From these strongholds the guerrillas fan out across the country for swift strikes against Vietnamese army outposts and supply routes. One broadcast by a clandestine Khmer Rouge radio station—probably located in China's Yunnan province—claimed that several Cuban and Soviet advisers had been killed in a Phnom-Penh airport ambush.

Innocent Cambodians are, as ever, caught in the crossfire. According to refugees, Vietnamese troops "liberating" a hamlet from the Khmer Rouge will customarily abolish the communal kitchens and other vestiges of Pol Pot's extremist brand of Communism and allow the citizens to elect their own leaders. The Vietnamese then move on to other villages, leaving the inhabitants defenseless against the revenge of Khmer Rouge who swoop down at night, reinstitute the communal kitchens, seize what food is available, and kill the elected leaders.

Although the Vietnamese troops in Cambodia outnumber the Khmer Rouge 7 to 1, it is by no means certain that Hanoi can defeat the Khmer Rouge. The Cardamom Mountains are densely forested and remote. The Vietnamese supply lines are long and vulnerable to harassment, and the Khmer Rouge know the country. Continuing Vietnamese efforts to root out the guerrillas may merely add to the chaos in Cambodia.

One advantage enjoyed by the Khmer Rouge is their ability to make tactical retreats into Thailand, where they rest and regroup—much to the discomfiture of the neutral Thais. Some 30,000 Khmer Rouge and their supporters crossed into Thailand last month during a Vietnamese offensive, and reportedly have since returned to Cambodia, presumably having hidden their arms there. One obvious danger is that Hanoi might risk a direct attack into Thailand. Said a top Western diplomatic observer in Bangkok last week: "The war can easily spill over into Thailand. Hanoi wants very badly to get

rid of the Khmer Rouge and may use hot pursuit to accomplish its purpose."

To blunt that possibility, Washington has sold Bangkok \$400 million worth of sophisticated weapons in the past fiscal year, including 150 M48 tanks. A spokesman for the Defense Department said last week that shipments of arms to Thailand had been speeded up during the past several months because the U.S. has been concerned that the Vietnamese invasion of Cambodia might spread to other countries.

The U.S. can help arm the Thais against a Vietnamese incursion, but Washington seems virtually helpless to influence the apparently inexorable course of events that is engulfing the Cambodian people. One reason is that the war being waged inside the country is ultimately a reflection of the deep-rooted Sino-Soviet conflict. Another is that Hanoi perceives all humanitarian efforts by the world to feed the starving Cambodians as "interference" in the affairs of the Phnom-Penh government. In spite of growing Western pressure, many diplomatic observers believe that Phnom-Penh, under Hanoi's direction, will continue to obstruct any large-scale relief efforts. Said one Western diplomat in Bangkok: "The Vietnamese might not want supply trucks rolling down the Cambodian highways because they are engaged in military operations on those roads. They also may not want outsiders to see that it is Hanoi that is fighting the war against the Khmer Rouge and not Phnom-Penh. They fear that even if the food is distributed to Cambodian civilians, some of those civilians may pass it on to the Khmer Rouge, or have it seized. Finally, the Vietnamese simply don't give a damn about what happens to the Cambodians."

If that chilling assessment is correct, what does the future hold for Cambodians who may survive the present famine? No viable alternative to Vietnamese rule exists at present. Some Cambodian émigrés have placed their hopes in the Khmer Serei, or Free Khmers. These survivors of the Lon Nol forces are bitter enemies of both the Vietnamese and the Khmer Rouge. But with only 3,000 able-bodied soldiers, concentrated in western Battambang province, the Khmer Serei are a very remote threat to Hanoi. TIME's Clark visited a camp on the Cambodian-Thai border north of Aranyaprathet where there are Khmer Serei forces. Though dashing—outfitted in U.S. Marine Corps and Army jungle suits, the Khmer Serei looked anything but warlike. Resting on hammocks, with their transistor radios tuned to American pop music, they seemed to have been reduced to a state of permanent indolence.

Some hopes for creating a future independent government in Cambodia center on the irrepressible Prince Sihanouk, who wanders in exile between Peking and the North Korean capital of Pyongyang. Sihanouk had been put un-



Wily neutral: Prince Sihanouk



Peking puppet: Pol Pot



Mystic marshal: Lon Nol



Hanoi henchman: Heng Samrin



## World



**Soldier of the new pro-Sihanouk army**  
*Scattered around in coffee houses.*

der house arrest by the Pol Pot regime when the former Chief of State had boldly returned to Cambodia at the height of the Khmer Rouge terror. He re-emerged just as Phnom-Penh fell to the Vietnamese invaders last January. He appeared at the U.N. to make an impassioned speech in favor of Cambodian independence in which he compared Viet Nam to a "starving boa constrictor leaping on an innocent animal."

**T**hough erratic and sometimes clownish, the wily Sihanouk is still popular in his country, particularly among the peasants. Because of his longtime residence in Peking he would probably not be acceptable to the Soviet Union as a compromise leader of the country, in the unlikely event that Hanoi could be persuaded to withdraw its forces from Cambodia. Last month Sihanouk announced the formation of a Confederation of Khmer Nationalists in exile, which was building its own armed forces. The Prince also said that he would attempt to establish a provisional government in Cambodia that would exclude backers of both the Peking-supported Khmer Rouge and Hanoi-sponsored Heng Samrin. Sihanouk declared that his organization was supported by 100,000 exiled Cambodians around the world. But, as one U.S. State Department official put it last week, "Sihanouk's fatal flaw is that his so-called troops are actually scattered around the coffee houses of the U.S., Australia and Western Europe."

In reply to questions submitted by



**Guerrilla from remnants of the Khmer Rouge**  
*Hidden in remote, rugged mountains.*

## The Body Eats Itself

**T**here is nothing ennobling about death by starvation. It is neither quick nor painless. A starving person wastes away, literally consuming himself in the process. In a desperate quest for sustenance, many of the Cambodian refugees report, they were reduced to eating leaves or gnawing on the bark of trees. Neither contains remotely enough of the three major fuels that provide a body with energy: carbohydrates, proteins and fats.

Soon after food is cut off, the body switches to burning fuel reserves stored in the liver and fatty tissues. After fat is exhausted, the body accelerates the breakdown of proteins in muscles, including the heart, which saps strength. At the same time, the body attempts to husband its resources by cutting energy requirements to the minimum. Pulse rate and blood pressure fall and body temperature drops. Men become impotent; women stop menstruating, and nursing mothers fail to produce milk; children stop growing. Mental and physical lassitude set in, and individuals become obsessed with finding food. Some malnourished people develop edema, a swelling, especially in the joints and abdomen.

Though adaptive responses keep the body running for a while, even for months if some food and water are available, prolonged starvation eventually disrupts vital processes. Says Dr. Buford Nichols Jr. of Houston's Baylor College of Medicine: "You keep falling back, like a military withdrawal, but finally the body just collapses." Adds Dr. Myron

Winick of New York City's Columbia University Institute of Nutrition: "Victims of starvation have to adapt. But once they do, they have a very small margin for error." Death comes in many ways. The intestinal walls become damaged; severe and constant diarrhea may develop. The loss of body fluids containing electrolytes (particularly potassium) that help control heart rhythm can lead to circulatory collapse. Lack of food weakens the body's natural defense system against infection; crowded together with inadequate sanitation and nonexistent medical care, the starving—as the refugee experience proves—become prey to typhoid, cholera, tuberculosis and malaria. The absence of essential vitamins or minerals can also bring on the so-called deficiency diseases: rickets, beriberi and pellagra. Sometimes, the hungry simply lose the will to live.

Even if they survive, children under two will be permanently scarred by prolonged starvation. Most brain growth occurs in the uterus and before the age of two; adequate nutrition after that cannot remedy an earlier deficiency. For older survivors, recovery can be complete. Doctors warn, however, that a patient must be reintroduced carefully and gradually to food. The heart and digestive system are so weak that a sudden gorging can induce shock and death. Well-meaning G.I.s at the end of World War II inadvertently killed many concentration camp inmates by giving them big meals. It may take a month or more to return to normal feeding. There is a telltale sign, says Nichols, that lets you know when victims of starvation are going to survive: they finally smile.



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## Racing to Save the Hungry

**J**oan Baez sang at benefit concerts in Paris and Washington. Abie Nathan, known for his efforts on behalf of Arab-Jewish amity, sent food packages from Thailand. While governments debated how to cope with Cambodia's crisis, official agencies, religious and private organizations, and concerned individuals were at work to aid the catastrophe's victims.

The largest and most active of the relief organizations involved are the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) and the United Nations International Children's Fund (UNICEF). Working jointly, along with such related U.N. agencies as the Food and Agriculture Organization and World Food Program, the two groups have so far sent 2,500 tons of food and supplies into Cambodia and undisclosed amounts of aid to refugee camps that they operate in Thailand. As the principal agencies through which governmental contributions are funneled into Cambodia, ICRC and UNICEF have already received pledges totaling \$137 million, well above the \$111.3 million they estimate is necessary to prevent mass starvation over the next six months. These groups hope to send at least 165,000 tons of food into the region during that period—if they can get the cooperation of the Heng Samrin government in Phnom-Penh.

Cambodian officials have been more cooperative in their dealings with the Oxford Committee for Famine Relief (OXFAM), an England-based organization that is coordinating a relief effort by more than 20 private agencies. An OXFAM barge laden with 1,500 tons of food arrived in the Cambodian port of Kompong Som last month, and two more are on the way. OXFAM has been permitted to station eight full-time staff members inside Cambodia. Robert Hohler, at OXFAM's Boston-based U.S. branch, attributes the organization's success to its apolitical status. Says he: "While governments squabble about what to do, we are walking through the legs of the giants and doing the job." The California-based World Vision International, a conservative Protestant organization noted for its missionary efforts, has also been well received by Cambodian officials, largely because of contacts made there before the 1975 triumph of the Khmer Rouge. So far WVI has flown in about 15 tons of food.

In the refugee camps along the Thai border, a host of smaller agencies—including Christian Outreach, CARE, Catholic Relief Services, Church World Service and the International Rescue Committee—are working alongside UNICEF and ICRC staffers. These groups are supported largely by private contributions from the U.S., where special church collections, newspaper ads, mail-in campaigns and benefits have reaped millions for Cambodian relief. Says Rabbi Marc H. Tanenbaum of the American Jewish Committee: "This isn't just a matter of dollars and cents and cans of tuna fish. This is a crisis of staggering magnitude." Interagency cooperation is the official policy in the camps. Nonetheless there is competition among agencies to be the first on the scene where refugees cross at a new point along the border.

Another problem has been created by the dozens of untrained volunteers that the U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) bused daily to the Sakaew camp from Bangkok. The volunteers, who included students, nurses, businessmen, and diplomats' wives, filled a manpower gap at the crucial time when the camp first opened; many full-time workers now dismiss some of the volunteers as "refugee tourists" who only got in the way. Last week UNHCR halted the indiscriminate acceptance of volunteers. But most of the volunteers were moved to help the refugees from a sense of pity, not publicity, and their help was important. One U.S. executive spent six hours of a hot day at Sakaew bathing orphans. After watching three volunteers struggling to put up a tent, an exhausted but grateful Cambodian observed: "I have never seen that before."



A Cambodian carries aid into a refugee camp

TIME to Sihanouk, the Prince cabled that "the majority of the Cambodian people, and me, myself, consider that the No. 1 danger and menace threatening the innocent Cambodian people is the genocidal regime of Pol Pot, and that Vietnamese colonialism is enemy No. 2. It is my opinion that it is necessary that the regime of Pol Pot must first be eliminated by the Vietnamese army." After that, the Prince would hope to eliminate the Vietnamese presence from Cambodia.

Sihanouk may regard Vietnamese colonialism as evil No. 2, but the non-Communist nations of Southeast Asia are as hostile to Hanoi's puppet regime in Phnom-Penh as they are to Pol Pot's Khmer Rouge. Viet Nam has been repeatedly rebuffed in its efforts to have the legitimacy of the Heng Samrin regime endorsed by the world's major powers. Indeed, only the Soviet Union, its satellites and a few other smaller countries have recognized the present Phnom-Penh government. Hanoi suffered a particularly humiliating defeat in September when the U.N. General Assembly, by a 2-to-1 margin, voted to seat a representative of the Pol Pot regime as Cambodia's delegate. Despite the ghastly record of the Khmer Rouge, the majority—which included the U.S.—could not stomach legitimizing a regime that had been installed at the point of Vietnamese guns.

Last week Hanoi was cannily maneuvering to use the U.N. special conference on aid to Cambodia as a stepping stone for recognition of the Heng Samrin regime. Vietnamese Ambassador Ha Van Lau reportedly raised the issue of Samrin representation with Secretary-General Waldheim. Phnom-Penh's Foreign Minister Hun Sen sent a message to Waldheim saying that his government viewed "with sympathy" all well-intentioned humanitarian assistance and was "prepared in consequence to send its representatives to assist the proposed conference."

**T**hough clearly motivated by political opportunism, the Hun Sen statement was the first indication that Phnom-Penh—if properly rewarded—might ease somewhat its restrictions on relief supplies to Cambodia. Unless Cambodia's borders are opened to life-giving aid, the situation will remain what it has been for five years: the war in Cambodia will be fought to the last starving Cambodian.

The Cambodian plight has stirred civilized men and women around the globe. Many Americans have a particularly keen sense of compassion about the world's latest tragedy. In part, that feeling is inspired by lingering memories of the long, unhappy involvement of the U.S. in Indochina. Beyond that there is the frustration of knowing that the catastrophe of Cambodia could be averted; that the food, the medical supplies and the will to help do exist. Only the cruel, baffling politics of Southeast Asia stand in the way. ■

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## World

SOUTH KOREA

# Mourning and Post-Mortems

*A royal burial for Park and new evidence of a misfired coup*

Within sight of two tanks hidden discreetly behind the trees, thousands of mourners flocked in front of the capitol in Seoul last week, in a mass wake for South Korea's slain President Park Chung Hee. Day after day, uniformed schoolchildren, silk-clad housewives and bearded village elders disembarked from rickety country buses and surged through a choking cloud of incense past the dozen black-draped altars. There, Buddhist priests murmured their sutras while mourners prostrated themselves in grief. With a shrug, a government worker whispered the prevailing mood of sorrowful but stoical resignation: "Gone is gone."

On the surface, at least, there was a semblance of stability and normality in Seoul. The 10 p.m. curfew ordered under martial law closed down the city's busy neon nightlife. Still wary that North Korea might use Park's death as a pretext for invasion, South Korea's own 600,000-man armed force, as well as the 39,000 U.S. troops stationed in the country, remained on alert. Stepped-up intelligence surveillance, however, detected no threatening military movements across the Demilitarized Zone. Most of all, South Korea's interim emergency government seemed to be functioning smoothly. For the moment, at least, the constitutional power structure remained in place. The Cabinet was intact, and it met daily under Acting President Choi Kyu Hah, who had been Park's Premier.

Beneath the surface calm, however, was a growing mood of uncertainty. Koreans speculated endlessly about what, and who, would replace Park. With the major political figures out of public view, in deference to the nine-day mourning period, nobody could measure the extent of the power struggle that might already be under way behind the scenes. Nor could anyone tell for sure who was actually in charge of the country. Much of the talk centered on the enigmatic figure of General Chung Seung Hwa, 53, the Army Chief of Staff and Martial Law Commander. Last week Chung's deputy, Lieut. General Lee Hee Sung, was named as acting chief of the discredited but still powerful Korean Central Intelligence Agency. Chung immediately ordered a purge of the agency's upper echelons. Most observers concluded that he had already emerged as the dominant figure of the interim regime. Also, few doubted that he would be a power to reckon with in the succession struggle.

At present, the most intense speculation focused on the unanswered questions about the assassination itself, now

commonly known as the Friday Night Massacre. Nobody disputed the bare facts of the case: Park, along with his chief security officer, Cha Chi Chul, and four bodyguards had been killed by KCIA Director Kim Jae Kyu and five of his men during dinner in a private room of a KCIA

building. The alleged assassin and the dinner's sole survivor, Park's presidential chief of staff, Kim Kae Won, were both under arrest, and 30 to 50 KCIA officers had also been taken in for questioning. Each successive government explanation, however, left a trailing edge of mystery about who, exactly, had been involved and how far conspiracy had extended.

First, the government had claimed that Park had been killed "accidentally" when Kim Jae Kyu fired several shots at Cha in a fit of anger. Two days later, the government tacitly admitted the absurdity of that version by providing a second "official" account of the killing. According to this story, Kim and several of his KCIA agents had conspired to kill both Cha and the President because Kim had fallen out of favor with Park and feared that he was going to lose his job. That account seemed more plausible, as far as it went.

Last week Seoul government circles quietly leaked a third, more elaborate version of the murder story, this one involving General Chung. According to this widely circulated, "semiofficial" account, Kim tried to persuade Chung to join the conspiracy, declare martial law and mobilize certain military forces, presumably for the purpose of taking over the country. According to these reports, Chung refused and ordered the arrest of Kim and his co-conspirators.

Chung is indeed reputed to be an incorruptible officer who never meddled in politics. But was he as innocent as this story suggested? Last week sources familiar with the events told TIME yet another version. It was that Kim had indeed planned a coup, but that he had developed his plot with "full support and knowledge" of some



The funeral procession for Korean President Park



Park's eldest daughter Keun Hae, other family members, and friends pay their final respects

*After a traumatic bloodbath, there were tears, wailing, sirens and clouds of incense.*

## World

of the top South Korean army brass, including General Chung. The coup plan, which was incomplete at the time of the assassination, was aimed at removing Park from power but did not envision killing him; in fact, according to a TIME source, the coup misfired mainly because "the general began to have cold feet when he saw the body." Instead of following through with the plot, Chung ordered the detention of Kim and his KCIA henchmen.

The army officers' motives for join-

According to one TIME source, "What exactly ensued remains confusing. The vital question is: Who pulled the gun on Park? We have no idea at all, though it is easy to imagine that Kim Jae Kyn made a final plea for the President to change his basic political stance. A tough man

and always a soldier at heart, Park could not have changed his mind so easily. It's entirely possible



Former KCIA Chief Kim Jae Kyu being interrogated, and Park's aide, Kim Kae Won (inset)

ing Kim's coup plan stemmed from Park's harsh measures against rising political opposition and student protests. This led the generals to conclude that he was losing touch with reality and was no longer able to govern effectively. Moreover, both the army brass and the KCIA leaders shared a revulsion against the growing personal influence of Cha, Park's arrogant, all-purpose adviser as well as his chief security officer. Kim had a personal grudge against Cha because he had repeatedly criticized the KCIA's failures to prevent or even predict political unrest. For their part, the army officers resented the way that Cha, a lowly ex-lieutenant colonel, blithely ignored the military command system by issuing direct orders to division-level commanders.

On the fateful Friday, TIME's sources allege, Kim invited Chung to dinner for further talks on "basically changing the situation" in Korea. Around 4 p.m., the general turned up at the KCIA building. Park at this point abruptly invited himself to dinner with Kim. The President showed up two hours later at the KCIA building with Cha and his chief of staff, Kim Kae Won, who was known to be a friend of the intelligence chief but whose own role in the events remains mysterious. Thus because of his planned appointment with the KCIA boss, Chung happened to be in the building when the shootout and killings took place.



Martial Law Commander Chung Seung Hwa  
Did he begin to get "cold feet"?

too that Park flared up in anger and even tried to beat down Kim. Somebody then squeezed the trigger. We know that to the last moment of his life, Park remained adamant and aloof."

After the shootings, it is alleged, Chung was called into the dining room. Kim proposed that they rush to another KCIA office in Namsan, on the edge of Seoul's old city, and immediately take steps to seize all radio and television stations. But at the sight of the President's body, Chung became upset. Instead, he persuaded Kim to go to the defense ministry, while Chief of Staff Kim Kae Won

rushed Park to a nearby hospital. When the alleged assassin and the general arrived at Chung's office shortly after 8 p.m., Defense Minister Ro Jae Hyun was waiting there. Ro called in Premier Choi Kyu Hah, who reacted with unexpected forcefulness. He insisted that the nation should be informed immediately of Park's death and that he should carry out his constitutional duty "no matter what, even at the cost of my own life and the lives of my family." Ro and Chung sided with the Premier, and Kim Jae Kyn suddenly found himself saddled with full responsibility for the bloodbath. He and his top KCIA lieutenants were placed in custody.

The original coup plan, apparently, had moved too quickly for the army and had then gone out of control with the killing of Park. At a hastily called emergency Cabinet meeting, which was also attended by a number of generals, Choi obtained backing for constitutional rule and declared himself Acting President. Chung was named Martial Law Commander at the same meeting. The two men apparently agreed to act in concert in order to assure the country that it had a legitimate interim government. But who was giving orders to whom in this uneasy tandem was unclear.

At week's end there were rumors in Seoul that the top army brass had secretly agreed to scrap South Korea's 1972 constitution, under which Park was empowered to serve as President indefinitely, appoint one-third of the National Assembly and exercise emergency powers to detain his political opponents. It was not determined what mechanism for forming a government might replace the constitution, or how its abrogation would affect the political fortunes of the two most likely candidates to succeed Park. One was Kim Jong Pil, 53, a National Assembly member who helped organize Park's 1961 coup and who subsequently became the first director of the KCIA; the other was Chung Il Kwon, 61, a holdover from the Syngman Rhee government, who served from 1964 to 1970 as Park's Premier.

Only outspoken Dissident Kim Dae Jung, 53, dared to break the silence maintained by other politicians. Still under house arrest for his long opposition to the Park regime, Kim urged that the existing 2,583-member electoral college should be scrapped in favor of a direct, popular election for a new President.

At week's end South Korea buried Park with a somber, five-hour state funeral punctuated by wailing sirens. Secretary of State Cyrus Vance and President Carter's son Chip joined representatives from 42 countries. The presence of the opposition party leader Kim Young Sam was evidence that the mourning period had brought South Koreans a time of political truce. A traumatic bloodbath was behind them, but they had every right to be apprehensive about its uncertain consequences.



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## World

EL SALVADOR

### One Step Closer to Anarchy

*Leftist extremists provoke the new junta to violence*

It was just past noon in the capital city of El Salvador, the little Central American country that had undergone a *coup d'état* only two weeks earlier. As merchants in San Salvador's central business district pulled down their steel shutters for the traditional two-hour siesta, a group of 180 young men suddenly jogged down the street, followed cautiously by a small band of foreign journalists. The joggers, all members of a Trotskyite political group called the L.P.-28, shouted "Unity!" and carried antigovernment banners. Some also held gym bags and cumbersome parcels—at least one of which, it turned out later, contained a rifle ready for firing.

As the runners approached a newspaper office that had been destroyed by bombs the previous night, a dozen policemen braced for trouble. Shots rang out, and soon army reinforcements arrived in armored personnel carriers, firing at the activists and running over bystanders in the process. "People were falling like pins in a bowling alley," said one horrified shopkeeper. By the time the shooting ended six hours later, the streets were littered with 32 bodies, and the country had slipped one step closer to anarchy.

In the next five days, 20 more Salvadorans died in clashes among the many extremist political factions that have made civil strife a way of life in El Salvador (pop. 4.8 million). On one side are the leftist terrorist groups that seek to provoke a Nicaragua-style insurrection. On the other are the hit teams obedient to the country's ultraconservative elite. Standing helpless in the middle, unable to control either the notoriously brutal 12,000-man security forces or intransigent foes on the left and right, is the civilian-military junta that ousted President Carlos Humberto Romero only last month.

Backed by liberal academics and some members of the Roman Catholic

clergy, the junta had announced a crash program of political reform. Though it quickly won support and a pledge of "significant aid" from the U.S., the five-man junta may fall apart before the program is carried out. Rumors of a counter-coup by right-wing military officers swept through the capital last week, together with reports that the oligarchy was prepared to pay as much as \$20 million to any group that could restore the country to military control.

The most pressing problem is the mounting outrage over the junta's failure to determine the fate of some 300 dissidents who have "disappeared" during the past three years. Military officers have opposed the junta's plan to create a special commission to investigate the disappearances, evidently out of concern that this might implicate the armed forces. Unless the junta can produce a convincing explanation of what happened to the missing 300, and quickly, warns Christian Democratic Leader José Napoleón Duarte, whose victory in the presidential election seven years ago precipitated a military takeover, "they will be digging their own graves." Not to mention those of many other Salvadorans.

Until last month's coup, most leftist groups, including the 75,000-member Marxist-Leninist Popular Revolutionary Bloc (B.P.R.), had not believed El Salvador was ready for a revolution against the Romero regime. With an unsteady new government in place, however, some of the leftists have sensed an unreamed-of opportunity to try to seize power. Their strategy: to provoke the new government into bloody efforts to suppress protest, thereby demonstrating that for all its promises of reform, the junta is not much different from the Romero dictatorship.

Toward that end, B.P.R. members invaded the Ministry of Labor and Econ-

omy and captured 300 hostages, including three members of the junta's newly appointed Cabinet. Another group attacked the U.S. embassy, forcing Marine guards to fire tear gas to repel the assault. Still another machine-gunned the embassy of Guatemala, the country that has given shelter to the deposed Romero.

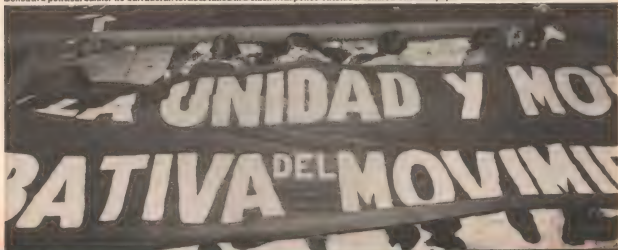
Not that the armed forces needed much provocation. One evening, a group of 80 leftist youths assembled in the streets near the central market for a political pantomime. Some carried toy guns, while others wore ape masks. A crowd of about 500 people gathered as one young man in a stovepipe hat portrayed Uncle Sam giving orders to the Salvadoran junta. Others in the carnival atmosphere acted out a "massacre of people" by the security forces.

As darkness fell, a truckload of soldiers happened upon the strange scene. In anger or perhaps merely in fear, the soldiers fired into the crowd, putting actors and onlookers alike to flight. Behind them they left six players dead in the street, one still clutching a plastic gun. The performance was over for the night.

■ ■ ■

As El Salvador's crisis deepened, Bolivia was enhancing its sorry reputation as one of the Western Hemisphere's most unstable countries. Only two days after the final session of this year's Organization of American States meeting broke up in La Paz, Bolivian soldiers surrounded the presidential palace, overthrew the three-month-old government of President Walter Guevara Arze, and installed a military regime headed by Colonel Alberto Natusch Busch. The U.S. was particularly disappointed because it had hoped that Bolivia under Guevara, the country's first civilian leader in more than a decade, would take its place alongside its Andean Group neighbors (Venezuela, Colombia, Ecuador and Peru) as a growing force for democratic reform in South America. But Washington could hardly pretend to be surprised at the news: Natusch's takeover, after all, was the 188th coup in Bolivia's 154 years of independence and the third in the past 16 months.

Beneath a political banner lie Salvadoran leftists killed in a clash with police outside a bombed-out newspaper office in San Salvador



## World

IRAQ

# An End to Isolationism

*As Saddam Hussein consolidates his power*

**H**is nation sits upon a "lake of oil," boasted Saddam Hussein al Takriti last week—referring to Iraq's estimated proven reserves of more than 32 billion bbl. Largely because of that petrol power, Iraq is emerging as a political force in the Middle East after years of xenophobic isolationism. The country's increasing importance was underscored by a visit to Baghdad last month by Jordan's King Hussein for discussions on a comprehensive Middle East peace settlement. Other recent callers have included French Premier Raymond Barre, British Foreign Secretary Lord Carrington and his West German counterpart, Hans-Dietrich Genscher. Their visits are solid evidence of the growing Western interest in Iraq and of Baghdad's desire to open new economic and diplomatic relations with the West. They also suggest that Saddam Hussein, 42, who replaced ailing Ahmed Hassan al Bakr, 65, as President last July, is determined to forge a more active, and possibly less radical, foreign policy for his country. **TIME** Correspondent Bruce van Voort reports from Baghdad:

Winter is descending on the Iraqi capital, or so they claim in the coffeehouses on Saadun Street, even though the afternoon temperature hovers above 90°. After comments on the weather, conversations with leather-faced Iraqi peasants, sipping lemon tea or sweet Turkish coffee, or with natty young chain-smoking bureaucrats from nearby ministries turn these days to politics. That means the ascendancy of Saddam Hussein, who has moved decisively to strengthen his grip on the country.

Saddam Hussein's consolidation of power has included the arrest last July of 67 Cabinet members, politicians and government employees in an alleged conspiracy against the new regime; 21 officials, including a Deputy Prime Minister, were executed for treason, but the rationale for the purge remains a mystery. The government branded the plot a Communist attempt to oust Saddam Hussein and unofficially suggested that Syria was behind the machinations. Most Western observers believe it was engineered by the new President simply to eliminate critics of his authoritarian rule.

Saddam Hussein has frenetically tried to build up his personal image in the wake of the purge. His public activities are front-page news in the government-controlled press. His photographs are everywhere. This extravagant cult of personality seems designed to broaden the political base of the new President, particularly among bureaucrats made nervous by

the "conspiracy." The President took steps to placate potential opposition within the government. He ordered large salary increases for bureaucrats, police forces and the army and announced plans for often postponed elections to a general assembly. If the carrot fails, Saddam Hussein certainly has the stick. Iraq remains a tough, unrelenting police state. Telephones are tapped, and there is a widespread system of informants as well as thousands of political prisoners.

**S**addam Hussein faces potential opposition from two of Iraq's dissident populations: the Kurds in the north, who share with their ethnic cousins in Iran a yearning for autonomy, and Shi'ite Muslims in the south, whose political consciousness has been further raised by the Ayatullah Khomeini's revolution. Shortly after the July executions, he announced that 1,000 Kurdish tribesmen would be allowed to return to Kurdistan from exile in the south. On a visit to the predominantly Kurdish city of Sulaimaniya, he reiterated his support for an autonomous area where the Kurds will have their own legislative council. On a visit to the Shi'ite areas of the south, he distributed hundreds of free television sets but bluntly warned that he would not tolerate collusion by the Shi'ites with the Iranian government.



**A potential source of trouble: armed Iraqi Kurds**

*Support for area autonomy, and free television sets*



**Strongman with a cigar: Saddam Hussein**

Aided by oil revenues that are expected to hit \$20 billion this year, the Iraqi government has decreed free medical services and free education and launched an impressive campaign to stamp out illiteracy, with fines and jail terms for those between 15 and 45 who refuse to learn to read and write. There are also notable failures. Agricultural production has lagged, despite huge irrigation and land-reclamation projects. Housewives frequently do without such basic foods as potatoes, onions or eggs. Baghdad is afflicted by urban sprawl, air pollution and strained water and electrical facilities.

Thanks to its oil, Iraq has become an attractive commercial market; 66 nations competed for space at last month's Baghdad international fair, which in the past normally brought only about two dozen exhibitors. Diplomatically, too, the government is trying to change its former image as a radical regime. At last spring's Baghdad conference of Arab states, Saddam Hussein signed a communiqué that tacitly accepted United Nations Security Council Resolution 242 as a basis for solving the Palestinian question. Iraq's action, say Middle East experts, was an intriguing modification of its traditionally strong anti-Israel position as a leader of the so-called Arab rejectionist front.

Iraq's biggest problem is the threat that the Islamic revolution in Iran might spread to the Shi'ites who make up the bulk of the labor force in Iraqi oilfields. Last week Baghdad withdrew from Iran that had ended three years of border hostilities, presumably because Iraq now believes the power relationship between the two countries has been reversed. The implication of the move is that Saddam Hussein, despite his problems, is feeling very confident these days. ■

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## World

### NORTH AFRICA

## Sahara Dilemma

*Carter decides to aid Morocco*

**L**ike so many African crises before it, the Polisario dispute in the Sahara between Morocco and Algeria has caused the Carter Administration an inordinate amount of worry. As in such similarly intricate problems of the recent past that involved Zaïre, Angola and the Ethiopian-Somali fighting in the Horn of Africa, the Administration has been sharply divided over how to protect its improving relations with the Third World while at the same time countering rising Soviet influence.

In the present case, the question is in what way the U.S. can best use its influence toward bringing about a cease-fire in the Western Sahara between Morocco and the Algerian-backed Polisario guerrillas, who want to establish an independent state in the area formerly ruled by Spain. Morocco's King Hassan II is pressing the U.S. to sell him the Bronco planes and Cobra helicopter gunships he feels he needs to continue the fight against the guerrillas. The U.S. State Department opposes the sale and cites a CIA assessment that Morocco cannot win the war against the Polisarios. The State Department also fears that the arms sale would merely provoke the Polisarios into seeking more sophisticated weapons from Algeria, Libya and even the Soviet Union. Moreover, the planes, if delivered, would be vulnerable to the Soviet-made Sam-7 missiles that Algeria has supplied the Polisarios. As one U.S. arms dealer in Rabat sees it, the additional American

arms would simply "increase the casualty rate on both sides."

On the other hand, President Carter's National Security Adviser Zbigniew Brzezinski as well as the Defense Department believe that the weapons would strengthen Hassan and make him more amenable to seeking a negotiated settlement. The question is exceedingly tricky: Washington does not want to betray Morocco, a longtime ally. But neither does it want to jeopardize its improving relations with Algeria, and not merely because that country now supplies 9% of U.S. crude oil imports. Last week President Carter decided that the U.S. must support Morocco with the arms sale, though the transaction has also to be approved by a wary Congress. Then he sent Deputy Secretary of State Warren Christopher to Rabat to urge the King to seek a compromise. At the same time Brzezinski left for Algiers to attend the 25th anniversary celebration of the beginning of Algeria's war of independence from France—and to explain the Administration's position to Algerian President Benjedid Chadli.

In a sense, Carter is gambling that Hassan is too beleaguered militarily and politically to resist a settlement of the dispute. Since last summer, the Polisario attacks have grown from small local skirmishes to pitched battles involving thousands of guerrillas. In an attack last month, the Moroccans were forced to abandon a key defense post at Mahbes, about 35 miles inside the Moroccan border. At the same time, Hassan's economy has been hobbled by 25% inflation, skyrocketing fuel bills and bad harvests. He is not particularly popular among his countrymen, but so far they have supported him on at least one important

issue, the war against the Polisarios.

What will Hassan do now? In the past, he has sometimes threatened to initiate a policy of "hot pursuit" against Algeria. Such talk alarms not only the U.S. but also Hassan's Arab allies, including the Saudis, who realize that all-out fighting between Morocco and Algeria would create a new axis of conflict in the divided Arab world. But two weeks ago, Hassan offered a little hope to his friends when he observed, in a French television interview: "I have many faults, certainly more faults than good qualities, but fortunately I am not stubborn." He then insisted that he would never resort to the "political aphrodisiac" of launching a strike into Algeria. ■

### SOUTH AFRICA

## Superbolt?

*A "nuclear" mystery deepens*

**W**hen a two-pulse burst of light flashed in the atmosphere over the remote southern seas off South Africa on Sept. 22, a U.S. Vela reconnaissance satellite registered the intensity and transmitted the data back to earth. After a month of scrutiny, the U.S. Government surmised that the light may have been caused by a relatively low-yield nuclear explosion. Suspicion fell on South Africa, whose haughty denials did little to quell international fears that the Pretoria government had succeeded in developing a nuclear weapon.

However, noting that the burst of light was not followed by any detectable radiation, as presumably would have been the case after a nuclear detonation, scientists have since been asking whether the flash was not in fact the result of some freakish natural phenomenon. Could it have been caused by a falling meteorite? Could the Vela satellite, in its electronic wisdom, have "imagined" it? The week's favorite theory was that the burst was really caused by a "superbolt" of lightning 100 times more intense than a normal bolt. Vela satellites have previously observed such phenomena, mainly over the sea and particularly in the vicinity of Japan. But in all previous known instances, a superbolt has emitted a single pulse of light, not two.

With an earthly mystery of such proportions on its hands, the White House called a two-day meeting to which it invited X-ray astronomers, satellite technologists and stratospheric physicists. The White House cautioned the world not to expect a quick answer. In the first place, it will take the scientists at least two or three weeks to reach some conclusions. And as Adviser John Marcum observed, "We have a highly imaginative group here." In the meantime, State Department officials insist they are "95% sure" that some kind of nuclear explosion did occur. ■



Women members of Polisario movement seated beside tanks and other military equipment. A King's promise not to resort to the "political aphrodisiac" of striking against Algeria.



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## World

IRELAND

### A New Effort for the North

*And a warning to the U.S. from Prime Minister Lynch*

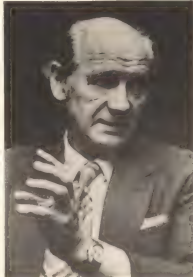
Six weeks ago, on his trip to Ireland, Pope John Paul II made an impassioned supplication: "On my knees I beg you to turn away from the paths of violence." The Pope's plea did not reach those who needed it most. Protestant paramilitary groups in the North had already vowed vengeance in the wake of August's Bloody Monday, when Lord Mountbatten and three of his party were killed and 18 British troops massacred. And the Provisional Irish Republican Army, ostensible champions of Northern Ireland's Roman Catholic minority, rejected the Pontiff's appeal brusquely: "In all conscience we believe that force is the only means of removing the evil of the British presence in Ireland."

Force it has been, on both sides. In the time since the Pope's visit, eleven have died in the unending violence. Though the number of active I.R.A. members remains small—600 to 700, against 30,000 British troops and police—their lightning ambushes have grown even harder to combat as their equipment and weapons have become more sophisticated.

The British response has been to tighten security and try again for a political solution to the Ulster conundrum. Margaret Thatcher's Tory government has installed a trio of new commanders in Northern Ireland, headed by Britain's famed spy master, Sir Maurice Oldfield, as supreme "security coordinator" for the area. There is a new level of cooperation between Dublin and London on security measures, notably in a secret agreement that allows helicopters of each side to overfly borders for up to ten miles in pursuit of terrorists. The Republic has good reason to hope: so far this year, armed bandits assumed to be I.R.A. gunmen have made 188 raids on banks, post offices and payroll offices in the South, making off with more than \$3 million.

A long-term solution seems as elusive as ever. The Thatcher government has proposed an all-party conference in Northern Ireland to consider new initiatives, but the principal Protestant group, the Official Unionist Party, and the predominantly Catholic Social Democratic and Labor Party have both rejected the proposal. British officials nevertheless hope to get the parties to the table.

The new effort in the North is supported by an anxious voice from the South—that of Eire's Prime Minister Jack Lynch. This week Lynch is in the U.S. to talk with President Jimmy Carter and Irish-American leaders about the problems affecting both the North and South of Ireland. He is clearly no hard-liner in his attitudes. He castigates the I.R.A., despite criticism of his stance from the left wing of his own Fianna Fail party. He is



Prime Minister Lynch during TIME interview  
"It is brutal and horrific gangsterism."

willing to view Irish unity as a distant dream to be reached only after considerable evolution, but on one premise he is adamant: that Northern Ireland is not an integral part of Britain, and must not be ruled completely from Westminster.

Part of Lynch's mission to the U.S. is to discourage Irish Americans from misguided sentimentality toward the I.R.A. Though contributions have been cut in half since 1976, U.S. aid to the I.R.A. still amounts to about \$350,000 a year, and it can come in very lethal forms. Late last week a sealed container of armaments from the U.S. was seized in Dublin harbor. The shipment included M60 machine guns, Armalite rifles (snipers' weapons) and 40,000 rounds of ammunition. Another concern is moral backing of the I.R.A. by some U.S. politicians, whom Lynch accuses of hobbling the cause of peace. On the eve of his departure from Dublin, Lynch talked with TIME London Bureau Chief Bonnie Angelo about Ireland's troubles and the American role in them.

**On the I.R.A. as freedom fighters:** The present I.R.A., the Provisional I.R.A., bears no relation whatsoever to the I.R.A. that existed in the early 1920s and before our war of independence. They have been outlawed by successive Irish governments. We abhor entirely the manner in which they are pursuing their activities—placing bombs in crowded areas, killing indiscriminately, doing acts of violence that make Irish people ashamed. These men are not fighting for a united Ireland, they are maintaining

the division of Ireland—the fear and bitterness that exist in the North. It is brutal and horrific gangsterism.

**On the I.R.A.'s terrorist connections:** It is well known that they are associated with international terrorism. What kind of ideology they have I don't know, but it is the antithesis of democracy. The church has no control over them.

**On a role for the U.S. in the Irish situation:** President Carter in 1977 indicated the interest of the American people in seeing an end to the violence in Ireland. He would then encourage greater investment and aid to Northern Ireland, which is very welcome. There is also the role of the so-called four horsemen [Senator Edward Kennedy, House Speaker Thomas O'Neill, Senator Daniel Moynihan and New York Governor Hugh Carey]. That people of their caliber are aware of the damage that is being done is very helpful.

**On Congressman Mario Biaggi and his Irish caucus:** I know that [New York Democrat] Biaggi and the people associated with him have publicly declared their support for the Provisional I.R.A. Any group that has close associations with NorAid [Irish Northern Aid Committee, the U.S. organization suspected of funneling funds to the I.R.A.] is making a peaceful solution in Ireland more difficult. People who give any support—moral or real—to the Provisional I.R.A. are making the situation worse.

**On Governor Carey's plan for U.S. mediation:** No. This is a matter between the British and ourselves and the elected representatives of the North. But we would be appreciative of any moral influence that President Carter could exercise toward producing a solution between us and the United Kingdom.

**On the pullout of British troops:** If the British army withdrew precipitately it would give rise to a higher level of violence. If the I.R.A. were freed of the British army, they would certainly step up their activities, and it is well known that the paramilitary Unionists are very well armed. It could be tantamount to a civil war.

**On his long-range goal for Ireland:** We want to see all our people united, to see Ireland governed by the Irish people. But we want to make sure that the evolution will be by peaceful means and by agreement. Unitary government, one government for the whole country, would obviously be our ideal situation, but one doesn't always attain one's ideals. Initially—and this is paramount—there must be a recognized administration in the North of Ireland that will command the support of both sides. That is the first step, a national priority. What will come from there I don't know. At least I hope that peace will come from it.



## Sex and the Senior Senator

Are a candidate's private peccadilloes public property?

**T**he mere mention of Edward Kennedy's social life is enough to make an editor's head throb. Little matter that he and his wife Joan have lived apart, at her behest, for two years. Every rumored dalliance poses a journalistic dilemma: Are a candidate's personal peccadilloes legitimate issues in a presidential campaign? The old rule—such indiscretions are off-limits as long as they do not interfere with official performance—has been breaking down in the wake of Watergate, Wayne Hays and Wilbur Mills. A new standard may evolve as the presidential campaign unfolds. Says Boston *Globe* Editor Thomas Winship: "We haven't yet thought out how far bedroom activity takes you into legitimate journalism."

Any hope that the question could be avoided was dispelled last week when Michael Kinsley, editor of the *New Republic*, resigned because Editor in Chief Martin Peretz killed an article about Kennedy's alleged womanizing. Said Kinsley: "My impression is that it was not the substance of the piece that bothered Marty, but the concept of discussing people's personal lives in the *New Republic*." Peretz curtly offered that it was not "the right kind of piece for us."

The 3,000-word article, by *New Yorker* Staff Writer Suzanne Lessard, does not attempt to document any amatory adventures. But it asserts that the gossip is true and suggests that Kennedy's philandering is a "latent issue" that will surface as the electorate struggles to get the Senator's character in sharper focus, and offers her own instant analysis: his behavior represents "a severe case of arrested development, a kind of narcissistic intemperance."

Almost every newspaper and magazine profile of the senior Senator from Massachusetts routinely mentions his reputation as a Lothario, but up to now no reputable journals have published any exhaustive investigation into the matter. "In this day and age," says Boston *Herald American* Editor Donald Forst, "I don't think that a story about a public figure having a relationship with a woman other than his wife is all that significant." Most editors agree that news judgments must be made on a case-by-case basis. Says Bill German, managing editor of the San Francisco *Chronicle*: "I try to measure these stories by the everyday and common standards. Are they



Martin Peretz

correct, pertinent, newsy and fair?"

Predictably enough, Kennedy's presidential bid has also revived press stories about Chappaquiddick, his 1951 expulsion from Harvard for cheating and anything else that might illumine his character. Last week *New York Times* Columnist William Safire dredged up a 1958 reckless driving conviction: as a law student at the University of Virginia, Kennedy tried to elude a pursuing police officer, Safire reported, then was found hiding in the front seat of his car. Safire concluded: "When in big trouble, Ted Kennedy's repeated history has been to run, to hide, to get caught and to get away with it."<sup>4</sup>



Suzanne Lessard at her New Yorker office

"A severe case of arrested development."

The Washington Post has an investigative team looking into Chappaquiddick, and the Washington *Star* this week offers three full pages on the subject. Kennedy came under tough questioning about Chappaquiddick and his troubled marriage on ABC's 20/20 magazine show last week, and again in a CBS documentary,



Michael Kinsley

*Teddy*, aired a few days later. On both programs, he fended off his inquisitors with elliptical candor, contriteness and stock answers that sometimes strained credibility (CBS's Roger Mudd: "How was it you could possibly

<sup>4</sup>Safire was aided by a reporter at the Charlottesville, Va., *Daily Progress* on the story, but he could have got more of the details on page 31 of James MacGregor Burns' favorable 1976 biography, *Edward Kennedy and the Camelot Legacy*.

have turned right?" Kennedy: "The difference between paved and unpaved for anyone who lives on Cape Cod or visits the island, the roads are indistinguishable.")

Kennedy's willingness to talk about Chappaquiddick may have blunted public interest in the matter, but his love life remains titillating. In the *New Republic*, of all places, Writer Henry Fairlie last month recounted a Washington dinner party where, "for a full hour and a half, 14 talented and interesting men and women talked of nothing but the sexual activities of Edward Kennedy." Says T.R. Reid, who covers Kennedy for the Washington Post: "It seems to me that if people are talking a lot about Chappaquiddick and his personal life, I should report it."

## TV Politics

Campaigning for air time

**I**n the 1976 presidential campaign, no candidate bought 30 minutes of television air time until about six months before the balloting. Election Day 1980 is still a year away, but already three top contenders are requesting half-hour spots. The networks, in a decision that must delight sitcom fans everywhere, have refused. Stated reason: it is too early for TV politicking.

Representatives of John Connally, Ronald Reagan and Jimmy Carter went shopping for tube time as early as mid-September. ABC and NBC told them to come back later. CBS offered each candidate two five-minute spots, one during prime time and the other during the day. Connally and Reagan grudgingly accepted the offer—the Texan's first ad, which cost about \$31,000, was shown last week—but Carter was determined to get 30 minutes in early December to announce for re-election. His campaign committee filed a complaint with the FCC. "For them to say that the political season hasn't started is absurd," said a Carter aide. "The reason they don't want to sell the time is because it'll cost them money."

Indeed, commercial spots for a half-hour episode of *M\*A\*S\*H* would bring in \$900,000 now, compared with the \$180,000 or so the Carter-Mondale Committee would have to fork over. (An FCC decision on their case is expected within two weeks.) The networks deny that money is a factor. They argue that if they sold one half-hour spot, they would be besieged with other requests; moreover, they say the candidates would do better buying time on local stations during the primaries. Reagan's staff did just that, but on a national scale. They organized a network of stations in the nation's 50 largest metropolitan areas and many smaller ones to broadcast his declaration speech on Nov. 13.



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# Medicine

## Elephant Man

*His illness afflicts thousands*

**Q**uasimodo probably had it. Digger Barnes of the television soap opera *Dallas* has developed the symptoms. In real life the most famous victim was John Merrick, the grotesquely deformed "Elephant Man," who became a sought-after celebrity in Victorian England.

The affliction is neurofibromatosis, a terrifying and, so far, incurable neurological disorder usually accompanied by varying degrees of deformity. Though most Americans had not heard of it before the *Dallas* episodes, or before *The Elephant Man*, a play about Merrick, opened in New York City this year, the ailment is surprisingly common; in the U.S., it affects some 100,000 people.

The first signs of neurofibromatosis usually appear in childhood: small, brown skin discolorations known as *café au lait* spots. Later, neurofibromas—ugly but benign skin tumors that can grow to look like brown cauliflower—may form anywhere on the body, particularly on the back, chest and abdomen. In severe cases, the body is eventually covered by thousands of these tumors. Some may develop internally, attaching to the brain's acoustic or optic nerves and other vital tissues. Another, rarer manifestation of the disease is "elephant skin," large hanging folds of epidermis.

Merrick, who had both external and internal signs of the disease, was so shockingly deformed that producers of *The Elephant Man* wisely decided against using any grotesque makeup for the actor in the title role; Merrick's appearance is merely suggested by the actor's body language and the reactions of others in the cast. Lame and in constant pain, the real Merrick was covered with lesions and pendulous folds of skin. His right hand, nose and feet were unrecognizable. One eye was nearly occluded by an outgrowth of bone. He could barely speak, was unable to smile, and his face, according to the attending doctor, looked like "a block of gnarled wood." The only way he could sleep was to rest his head on his knees. In 1890, longing to sleep "like other people," he lay down on his back, dislocated his neck and died of suffocation.

In milder forms of the disease than Merrick's, physicians are now able to deal with much of the deformity of neurofibromatosis by surgery. Some of these operations are for purely cosmetic reasons. In one recent case, for example, plastic surgery was used to treat a girl of eleven who had a fold of fibrotic skin hanging from her genital area. Said Dr. P. Bela Fodor, who performed the operation at St. Luke's Hospital in Manhattan: "There's a good chance she



Portrait of Merrick, the Elephant Man (1886)

*Bearing up with tremendous dignity.*

will never have a recurrence and that she will go on to live a normal life."

Sometimes the surgery is vital. One man had the disorder all his life with no serious complications until his 50s, when he developed a tumor on his brain stem that caused vertigo, deafness and numbness of the face. The tumor was successfully removed.

**P**lastic surgery often has to be repeated over and over. Lynne Ann Courtemanche, 35, of Manhattan, has spent 18 years undergoing surgery on her face and body; the tumors are removed as soon as they appear. For Courtemanche, president of the National Neurofibromatosis Foundation, the continuing ordeal is preferable to no treatment at all. She recalls seeing, at 17, a picture of John Merrick. Says she: "I thought, 'This is what I'll look like in a couple of years.' I didn't really know if I wanted to live that long."

Though neurofibromatosis is still poorly understood, medical researchers have recently been focusing on a blood protein that is unusually high in some victims of the disease. But a cure seems far off, and Courtemanche and the foundation are concentrating their efforts on showing victims how to live with the disorder. Says Courtemanche: "Merrick bore up with tremendous dignity and grace. You have to develop an inner peace with yourself—otherwise you're just condemned to a living hell."

## The Best M.D.s?

*Doctors rank their own*

**D**octors like few things better than exchanging anecdotes about the deficiencies or skills of their colleagues. But most would rather give up their stethoscopes than publicly compare the relative abilities of their fellow physicians. Now, though, an enterprising medical writer, John Pekkanen, has enticed hundreds of doctors to rate some of their own. His new book, *The Best Doctors in the U.S.* (Seaview Books; \$10.95), lists 2,500 of the nation's top specialists, judged so by their peers.

Pekkanen embarked on this two-year project with a personal sense of need. Because of a congenital heart defect, he has been plagued for much of his life with health problems that require medical attention. But, he says, "I felt I had often been steered to second-rate people." Seeking the best, Pekkanen mailed out questionnaires to 500 specialists, tallied the more than 300 replies, then conducted follow-up telephone or personal interviews. The key question asked each physician: "If you or a member of your family were ill with a problem in your own specialty, whom would you go to for treatment?"

Promised anonymity, the doctors were often startlingly frank. One, asked about a colleague who was also a close personal friend, replied: "He just isn't top rank." Remarkably a specialist of another: "I wouldn't take my dog to that quack." But the doctors were generous in their praise of other colleagues. The result is a book that lists the names and addresses of top-ranked physicians in specialties ranging from allergies to vascular disease and—as a bonus—throws in the names and locations of leading hospitals, clinics and specialty centers.

One caveat: merely knowing the names does not guarantee access to the doctors, even by telephone. Those listed are all superspecialists who usually handle only the most complex cases; they often accept only patients who are referred by another physician.

Doctors have reacted to the book much as society matrons do to the best-dressed lists. Some are flattered to be included, while others believe that any such ratings are unseemly. Still others fear being swamped by would-be patients. But the greatest concern is expressed by those who believe they have been passed over.

Though Pekkanen admits that a list of 2,500 (out of more than 400,000 physicians in the nation) omits many of the best, bruised egos abound. Ignored doctors have sent Pekkanen their multipage résumés, and the distraught wife of one physician forwarded even more convincing evidence of her husband's merit: a photograph of him with Merv Griffin. ■

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# Behavior

## The Conversion of Kübler-Ross

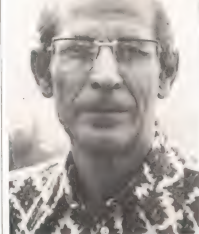
From thanatology to séances and sex

**H**er surprise bestseller of 1969, *On Death and Dying*, made her well known. The thanatology boom of the 1970s made her famous. Until recently, Psychiatrist Elisabeth Kübler-Ross, 53, traveled 250,000 miles a year as a star of the U.S. lecture circuit. Her outline of the five phases of death—from angry denial to final acceptance—is routinely taught at school and hospital seminars. Readers of the *Ladies' Home Journal* chose Kübler-Ross as one of eleven "women of the decade" for the 1970s. Even the movies are beginning to take account of the

claims to be a psychic and conducts séances that include sexual intercourse between participants and "entities" from the spirit world.

Barham, 50, is a former sharecropper and aircraft worker who founded the Church of the Facet of Divinity four years ago. In his first meeting with Kübler-Ross, he introduced her to her own personal entity, Salem. Greatly impressed, she talked her husband into buying 42 acres of land just across a lake from a nine-acre ranch used by Barham and his wife Martha. Kübler-Ross called her property Shanti-Nilaya ("Home of Peace" in Sanskrit) and made it a center for workshops on death and dying. One result, says a defector from the center, is that "she is so emotionally dependent on the Barhams that she can't see."

Barham conducts group sessions where, he says, spirit entities materialize by cloning themselves from cells of his body. The entities are unusually interested in sex, sometimes pairing off the living participants for fondling or mutual masturbation. In private sessions women are selected for sexual intercourse with an entity. Participants in the sessions, many well-educated, if gullible, middle-class professionals, have had occasional doubts about the entities. One woman says her entity burped during sex, raising the question of whether spirits can have stomach gas. Four women in the group developed the same vaginal infection after visiting an entity on the same night. A few of the participants noticed that entities made the same mistakes in pronunciation (such as "excape" for "escape") that Barham did. But most put aside their doubts. "I needed to believe," admitted one woman in the group. "It was a sense of being loved unconditionally."



Church Founder Jay Barham

"He appealed to my ego and hooked me."

phenomenon: Bob Fosse's forthcoming film, *All That Jazz*, features a death-obsessed dancer-director who turns to Kübler-Ross's works for comfort.

The view of Kübler-Ross's canon as solid began to change several years ago, when the psychiatrist raised eyebrows by concluding that death is not so final, after all. "When people die," Kübler-Ross declared, "they very simply shed their body, much as a butterfly comes out of its cocoon." Her growing conviction that the living could communicate with the dead led her to dabble in spiritualism at her retreat north of San Diego. Now Kübler-Ross, who refers to herself as an "immortal visionary and modern cartographer of the River Styx," has apparently lost any remaining credibility with her professional colleagues. The reason: her close association with Jay Barham, who

ing hit in the face, and a month ago, another suffered head injuries in a fall.

Last year a group of angry defectors demanded an investigation into Barham's operations. The California department of consumer affairs looked into the accusation that psychodrama sessions were taking place without a trained therapist in attendance. The department cleared the Barhams: ordained ministers of Barham's church can legally supervise such sessions under California law. This spring the San Diego district attorney's office investigated a report that a ten-year-old girl had been molested by her entity, but no charges have been brought because of lack of evidence.

Kübler-Ross's faith in Barham is unshaken. A friend, Deanna Edwards, says she attended two darkroom sessions in



Psychiatrist Elisabeth Kübler-Ross

"A modern cartographer of the River Styx."

hopes of changing the psychiatrist's mind about Barham. In both sessions, her entity-guide "Pico" tried to solicit sex. Edwards says she ripped masking tape from a light switch and flipped on the lights, revealing Jay Barham wearing only a turban. "I never heard such screaming," says Edwards, who hastens to explain that it was not the sight of Barham that caused the alarm; the other participants believed that light destroyed an entity. Edwards was sure the demonstration would convince Kübler-Ross that Barham was a fraud. No such luck. "This man has more gifts than you have ever seen," says Kübler-Ross. "He is probably the greatest healer that this country has." The current furor does not appear to disturb her. Says she: "Many attempts have been made to discredit us. To respond to them would be like casting pearls to swine."



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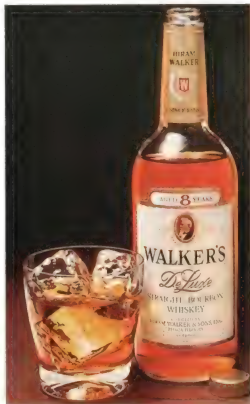
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# Art

## The Noise of Beuys

At New York's Guggenheim, the guru of Düsseldorf

Joseph Beuys—sculptor, maker of happenings, guru and political fantasist—is without doubt the most influential artist in Europe. At 58, he is also one of the few genuine art world stars: the gaunt face, the felt hat that never comes off in public and the fishing jacket make up a uniform as immediately recognizable to his fans as Al Capone's fedora or Picasso's monkey mask. He even has a retinue of attendants, attired in cute red jumpsuits. For some years he has been one of the chief culture heroes in Germany, particularly in Düsseldorf, where he lives, teaches and, by way of extension of his social theories, sponsors an institute called the Free International University, supporting it with the large income from his work. He is seen by the right as a demented blend of gangster and clown, and by some of the less militant student left as a messiah.

Beuys (pronounced boyce) was called up into the Luftwaffe from a small north German town. He did not turn into a professional artist until he was in his 40s. Having survived a series of crippling depressions, he fills the role of the penitent prophet. His wartime experiences, particularly the occasion in 1943 when he crashed in a Ju-87 and was saved by wandering Tartar tribesmen who wrapped his traumatized body in felt and fat (thereby planting the germ of Beuys' later obsessive interest in fat and felt as art materials, emblems of healing and magic), have for his followers almost joined Van Gogh's ear in the hagiography of modern art. After refusing for years to exhibit at an American museum in protest against the Viet Nam War, Beuys is now having a retrospective, organized by the English art curator Caroline Tisdall, at the Guggenheim in New York City.

An extreme case of the reverence accorded to Beuys' work in Germany happened two years ago, when one of his pieces—a bathtub on a stand, dotted with bits of sticking plaster—was mistakenly used to cool beer during a party in the museum where it was stored. No damage was done to it, but the owner sued and was given \$94,000 damages by a German court, a verdict happily greeted by Beuys as a victory over the "exploitative self-interest" of the beer drinkers. Plainly, something had happened to the avant-garde in the half-century since Marcel Duchamp suggested using a Rembrandt as an ironing board. Had it died of its own pomposity? If not, where was Beuys' claim to be an avant-gardist left? The problem is simple: there is no avant-garde any more, since its old ambitions of provocation and social attack have been swal-

lowed by the prostrate tolerance of institutions. Its only battle is a shadow play, the game of opposing (or marginally embarrassing) its patrons, the bankers and art dealers who can afford to buy Beuys' work.

Beuys' answer to this is, in effect, a brisk substitution. If art cannot affect politics, we shall designate everything that happens in the world as art, as a form of "social sculpture." Since in the present in-

The effort to make life and art one and the same does very little to change life, and generally dilutes art; but it is one of the permanent, unrealizable fixtures of the romantic will to cultural impact, and thus the favorite bromide of the avant-garde.

Beuys' sculpture is so wrapped in personal myth that it all looks equally good to his devotees. To those who are less committed, it seems very uneven. His stacks of felt rectangles, topped with copper or iron plates, have the dumb, disengaged look common to most minimal art. It does not help much to learn that the slabs of felt are meant to resemble the plates in a wet-cell battery; no current



Joseph Beuys on the museum ramp with sleds from his composite sculpture, *Pack* (1969)  
To America with fat, iron, felt, blood and the \$94,000 beer cooler.

tellectual climate of Germany nearly every act can be read as political, the artist assumes the stature of a revolutionary prophet. The result is Beuys as political *Luftmensch*, reeling off harmless utopian generalizations about social renewal through universal creativity, supporting the Free International University, and engaging in squabbles with the Düsseldorf Academy. This, however, is less social sculpture than social packaging. Beuys is a master of the art of self-representation, the last man to become a real celebrity (as distinct from a mere famous artist) through the medium of the art world. He is the Duchamp of the *engagés*, a position he laid formal claim to in 1964 by exhibiting a placard on West German television which read, "The silence of Marcel Duchamp is overrated." As such, he is famous for being famous, for being rather than doing. It is quite unnecessary that his political notions should have any effect on the real world.

runs, and inertia is inertia. His most extravagant object—20 tons of mutton fat cast into the form of a corner of a pedestrian underpass leading to Münster University, and now solemnly displayed in six pale hunks on the floor of the Guggenheim—was meant as a critique of heartless urban landscape, but its own megalomania crushes the small point it makes. On the other hand, Beuys is brilliant at using laconic, coarse, gritty, abandoned things to suggest a tragic sense of history. A case in point is his dreadful reliquary of Auschwitz, from the Ströher collection in Darmstadt: its few objects in a glass case—blocks of fat on a battered electric hot plate, moldering sausages, a mummified rat on a straw bed, a diagram of the camp, a drawing of a child—are perhaps the most poignant, and certainly the least exploitative, image in modern art of that catastrophe.

Many of his larger pieces occupy a middle ground between threat and hu-



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## Art

mor, his swarm of survival sleds, each with its blanket, flashlight and ration of edible fat, pouring out of the back of a Volkswagen bus, or his felt-covered piano, silent and permanently muffled, looking like an ill-stuffed gray elephant with two red crosses sewed on its hide. His obsessive interest in shamanism and the invocation of animal totems—hare, bee, stag and the like, scribbled out in countless drawings, molded in wax and scratched on slate—has at least as much to do with the pantheism of earlier German modernists like Franz Marc as it does with real anthropology. Beuys' images are very dense. Only the connections between them look scatty.

In fact, the reason for Beuys' popularity in Germany has more to do with history than one might suppose. For what is his art about? Nothing other than the excavation of memory, layer on layer of it, transformed into metaphor: these mock-shamanistic rituals, this fiddling about with sticks and fat, bones and rust, blood (or at least *Blutwurst*), coarse felt, mud, gold, magicians' wands and dead animals, are meant to embody a state of premodernist consciousness. Beuys' imagery of survival is intensely romantic and archaizing. It looks back to the days when artists were daubing ocher on cave walls and skinning hares with their teeth. It is full of nostalgia for the lost social centrality of art.

If one were to say that Beuys' art is about earth and race, one would not be far off the mark. But in Germany the very words have been fatally contaminated for the past 40 years by the rhetoric and fantasies of Nazism. Merely to utter them is to summon up the distant specter of flags, hunting lodges, papier-mâché Wagnerian swans and holy swords that constituted Göring's idea of folk culture, Karinhall style. One of Nazism's lingering cultural effects on postwar German artists was to render almost all contact with the German romantic tradition impossible; the radioactivity of that catastrophic fallout would take a long time to decay. Hence, perhaps, the peculiar openness of Germany to the tide of American influence that swept it in the '60s and early '70s, when New York modernism became the official culture of Western Europe, at least at the level of museums and big-time collectors. Joseph Beuys was the first postwar German artist to wander freely among the more *wiltsche* fragments of Teutonic romanticism—some of them still hot enough to make the needle jump—and assemble them into an art of obstinate personal idiosyncrasy. For this, he has been extravagantly rewarded with fame, money and the love of groupies. He deserves to be. On the political level, the noise of Beuys is not worth the silence of Duchamp; but as an artist, an inventor of memorable images and a fabricator of contexts for them, he has no European rivals.

—Robert Hughes



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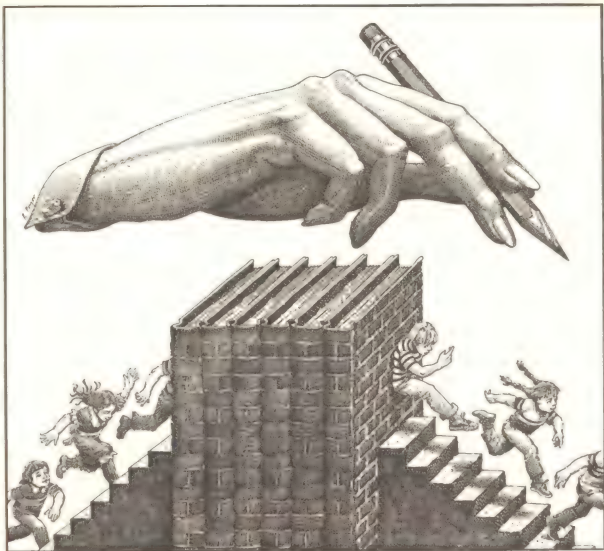
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# People



Steve Martin as *The Jerk*

Cross the wild and crazy humor of **Steve Martin** with the well-calculated mania of **Carl Reiner** and what do you get? A hyper hybrid movie called *The Jerk*. About a weirdo white raised by a poor black Southern family, who, hearing his first **Lawrence Welk** record, hits the road north to find his own kind of music. "All they played when I was a kid," explains Martin, a.k.a. the Jerk, "was blues." Martin mints a fortune by inventing nonslip eyeglasses, loses it when Reiner, in a walk-on as an irate consumer, brings a successful suit in behalf of cross-eyed eyeglass wearers. Complicated? Wait (ill) you see the sequel.

The 400 people who turned out for a party honoring **Louise Nevelson** got a twofor. It was the famed sculptress's 80th birthday, and she was also being saluted by New York's Municipal Art Society as a champion of urban art. Nevelson steadfastly refused to blow out the 80 candles, saying, "Let them burn and burn and burn." They did.

How about those measurements of Pinup Starlet **Bo Derek**, 28-19-500,000? Those of



Louise Nevelson and Guest Architect I.M. Pei at the sculptress's party

course are the dimensions of a poster of Bo kneeling in the surf that has already sold 500,000 copies. Before the poster and her success in the film *10*, Derek, 22, was known for her role in *Orca*, the *Killer Whale*, in which she was billed below Orca. Then came success. Now in addition to movie and television offers, Bo is out to improve on the dimensions of alltime Poster Star **Farrah Fawcett**, who measures 28-19-4 million.

Oldtimers called it "the Hot Stove League," the time between baseball seasons when players relaxed and relived their moments of diamond glory. For peppery New York Yankees Manager **Billy Martin**, it's come to be more a hot shove league, a winter of discontent in which Martin almost inevitably ends up in fractious incidents. This season in Bloomington, Minn., the wiry Yankee got into an altercation with



Bo Derek: 28-19-500,000

a marshmallow salesman who required 20 stitches to close an ugly gash on his jaw. Martin denied hitting the marshmallow man, but Yankee Owner **George Steinbrenner** decided enough was enough and fired his manager. It was Martin's second ejection as Yankee skipper, bringing his career total to five.

Grizzard and Wicker between Attica takes at the Lima State Hospital



For New York *Times* Columnist **Tom Wicker**, it was dramatic déjà vu. There stood Wicker in a prison courtyard full of makeshift tents and rebellious prisoners, just as he had eight years earlier when he acted as a negotiator during New York's infamous Attica prison riot. That time, the talks collapsed and 39 people died, most of them inmates but some of them the guards they had taken as hostages. This time, it was all play-acting: ABC is filming a two-hour television drama, *Attica*, based on Wicker's book about the 1971 uprising. Barred from using Attica itself, the film makers threw up a tent city in the yard of the Lima, Ohio, state hospital for the criminally insane so faithful in detail that Wicker shuddered. Faithful also is Actor **George Grizzard**, who plays Wicker. They were friends at the University of North Carolina; working around the drawing Wicker, said Grizzard, "I'm getting my Southern accent back."





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# Music

## Vienna's Spark of History

*The State Opera brings a treasured legacy to the U.S.*

**T**he word for it is *Gesamtagenspiel*, which, roughly translated, means everybody gets in on the act. And indeed, as the Vienna State Opera unpacked in Washington for its first U.S. visit, everybody—and everything—seemed to have come along. Thirty-seven soloists and 100 chorus members? Check. An orchestra of 95, with all their instruments? Check. Thirty-five stagehands and five staff workers, plus 23 custom-built 40-ft. containers full of scenery and costumes? Check.

The company brought something else too. It did not show up on any check list, but it was essential: the ghostly presence of great composers. The repertory for the visit consisted mostly of works passed down through the company's musical heritage directly from those composers' hands. There was Mozart's *Le Nozze di Figaro*, premiered in Vienna in 1786 with Mozart himself conducting from the keyboard. There was Beethoven's *Fidelio*, also first produced in Vienna with the composer presiding, in 1805. From the 20th century there were *Salome* and *Ariadne auf Naxos*; the latter premiered in Vienna in 1916 and both composed by one of the State Opera's long line of distinguished directors, Richard Strauss.

The Vienna is one of the few companies in the world able to claim that such figures move among its ranks as animating spirits. Opera in Vienna goes back to the early days of the form, when the city's cultivated imperial courts began attracting major composers, starting with Gluck. Today the company can work from scores personally annotated by Strauss and another former director, Gustav Mahler. Such authenticity in itself is no guarantee of quality, but to the performances last week in Washington it added a living spark of history. Washington, as history-minded a city as any in the U.S., responded ardently. Shivering against the pre-dawn chill off the Potomac, buffs began lining up outside the Kennedy Center at 4 a.m. for the 50 standing-room tickets that would go on sale six hours later. Sellout crowds packed the center's 2,300-seat opera house and 2,700-seat concert hall. Sprinkled among them, on one night or another, were such dignitaries as President Carter, Austrian Chancellor Bruno Kreisky, U.N. Secretary-General Kurt Waldheim and Henry Kissinger.

The Viennese unveiled three of the four operas, plus orchestral evenings of Schubert symphonies and Beethoven's *Ninth Symphony*. To be added to the repertory this week were *Ariadne* and a Beethoven-Wagner orchestral program. Next week, after a 17-day run in Washington,

the company will go to New York, where it will repeat the *Ninth* and the Beethoven-Wagner program and present a concert version of *Fidelio*.

The crown of the first week's operatic offerings was the *Figaro*—tender, witty, effortlessly buoyant. The spectacle of servants outwitting their masters, so inflammatory in Mozart's day, was given charm and point by Baritone Walter Berry, as a rather phlegmatic Figaro, and Soprano Lucia Popp, as his peri fiancée. Baritone Hans Helm and especially Soprano Grudula Janowitz, as the count and countess, played along with aristocratic good grace. The entire cast gave such a ravishing demonstration of a long-cherished Viennese ideal, the singing ensemble, that it seems inappropriate to make anybody first



The orchestra and cast perform *Fidelio*



The Dance of the Seven Veils in *Salome* (above) and the servants' wedding ceremony in *Figaro*



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## Music

among equals. Karl Böhm, at 85 the elder sage of the company, conducted as much with force of character as with his baton, occasionally omitting the beat entirely if things were tripping along on their own—which, most of the time, they were.

With *Salome*, a far more inflammatory drama took the stage, one that caused Austrian censorship to forbid a premiere of the work in Vienna in 1905. The story of the Judean princess who becomes obsessed with John the Baptist, then, when spurned, demands his head from Herod, still exerts much of its opulent, neurotic fascination. Zubin Mehta led a surging performance that captured it vividly. Baritone Theo Adam's disheveled, fiery Baptist was notable among several strong supporting roles. Soprano Leonie Rysanek, who has been singing with the company since 1954, projected *Salome's* eroticism and vengefulness with undiminished power. Her girlishness in the early scenes, however, was mannered, and her decision to perform the Dance of the Seven Veils—rather than yield to the stand-by dancer listed in the program—was a mistake.

**F**idelio was something of a perplexity. As Florestan, the honest man wrongly imprisoned by the corrupt Don Pizarro, Tenor Jess Thomas fell short of the role's impassioned outcry against injustice. Soprano Gwyneth Jones acted credibly as Leonore, Florestan's dauntless wife who impersonates a male jailer in order to free him. But too much of her singing was to the notes what drunk driving is to traffic lanes: a sometimes hair-raising approximation. Leonard Bernstein's conducting had its peaks of grave beauty. His *Leonore* overture, inserted in the middle of the second act, was superbly rousing. Yet at times even Bernstein was unable to stir the work out of its rather static, if noble, solemnity.

*Fidelio's* exalted humanism has long given it a kind of ceremonial stature. It was the obvious choice in 1955 to inaugurate the new Vienna opera house that was rebuilt from World War II wreckage, and it was the obvious choice to mark the gala opening in Washington. Said Bernstein, who unwound at a postperformance party by accompanying himself at the piano in blues and cabaret tunes: "What *Fidelio* is about is really what America is about. It's about the right to speak the truth as you see it and not be thrown into a dungeon. *Fidelio* should be the American national anthem."

At home, the Viennese each year present some 40 operas over a ten-month season. Many singers stay on from year to year under long-term contracts. With such continuity, it is no wonder the productions in Washington revealed a consistency of approach and attention to detail right down to the smallest role. The staging throughout was solid and fairly realis-



Zubin Mehta conducts rehearsal of *Salome*

tic. Even the occasionally outrageous Director Jean-Pierre Ponnelle, whose surreal *The Flying Dutchman* shocked Met audiences last season, contributed a relatively straightforward *Figaro*. There was



Karl Böhm, elder sage of Vienna company, prepares *Figaro*

no shortage, however, of imaginative effects. The richly colored orientalism of Jürgen Rose's *Salome* set and costumes, inspired by the Austrian painter Gustav Klimt, was especially gorgeous.

Leonard Bernstein works on *Fidelio* score



Is there an opera house in the world that boasts a better orchestra than Vienna's? Whether in the iridescent pulsations of *Salome* or the silky, intimate lyricism of *Figaro*, or the architectural sweep of *Fidelio*, the orchestra played like a first-rate symphonic ensemble—which, of course, is what it is. When not in the opera pit, it is the renowned Vienna Philharmonic. With Bernstein again on the podium, it excelled last week in a highly dramatic, virtuoso performance of Beethoven's *Ninth*. Bernstein tended to heighten what needed no heightening, but by the time the final movement erupted out of the smooth melodic arcs of the adagio, he and his players had built up a triumphant momentum. The Vienna chorus—tonally brilliant, never forced or fuzzy—drove home the finale splendidly.

**F**or the Kennedy Center's venturesome executive director, Martin Feinstein, whose previous imports have included La Scala and West Berlin's Deutsche Oper, the Vienna visit turns out to be the final coup of his tenure. Internal conflicts have led the center's board to redefine Feinstein's status as of Nov. 30, retaining him thereafter only in the less powerful role of director of opera and ballet. The impact of this change on future visits by foreign companies is unclear.

The Viennese are going through transition too. Shortly before the company left Vienna, it announced that Director Egon Seefehner, 67, would retire and Cleveland Orchestra Music Director Lorin Maazel, 49, would take over in the 1982-83 season. Maazel is the first American to be entrusted with the company's treasured legacy. Possibly his appointment signals a desire by the Viennese to open up that legacy to new influences. One hopes so. The operas brought to Washington are all great works; but they are also cultural totems, safe and certified, and this reflects a basic conservatism in the company's outlook. It would have been refreshing if one production had been set aside for something off-beat, to show what the company can do in a more unusual direction. The great Viennese tradition, after all, is made up of a succession of creative figures who transformed it even as they were perpetuating it.

Mahler once burst out to his recalcitrant colleagues: "What you theater people call your tradition is nothing but your comfort and your laziness." Maazel seems prepared to line up with Mahler when he says: "Opera has to be renewed constantly. I shall not hesitate to break with tradition to maintain the excellence of this company."

Meanwhile, that excellence is on view in Washington, making an eloquent case for the company's conservatism. If the Viennese venerate the ghosts in their midst, at least they have chosen to venerate the best.

—Christopher Porterfield

## Economy & Business

# Big Loss, Bigger Bailout

*The White House proposes a \$1.5 billion tide-me-over for Chrysler*

**T**he mood in the 54th-floor boardroom of Chrysler Corp.'s offices atop the Pan Am building in Manhattan was understandably subdued. Sales were still slumping, costs continued to soar, and back in Detroit the company had earlier in the week announced a third-quarter deficit of \$461 million, by far the largest quarterly loss in its troubled financial history.

But Chairman Lee Iacocca had some good news for his 16 fellow Chrysler directors. Before they gathered for their regular monthly meeting, he had received a call from Treasury Secretary G. William Miller, who told him that the suffering No. 3 automaker was going to get the Government aid that it had been seeking since August. Nor would the assistance be chintzy. The Carter Administration had decided to back a federal loan guarantee of \$1.5 billion, which was twice what Miller had indicated he would support only last September and a full \$500 million more than the company had asked for in the first place. As a result of a confluence of economic and political imperatives, the White House had decided to proceed with the biggest U.S. corporate bailout ever, one that would far exceed the \$250 million in loan guarantees extended to Lockheed during the Nixon Administration in 1971.

The Carter pledge came after months of pleading from Chrysler executives that without a quick infusion of cash the company faced not just more losses and heavier layoffs but perhaps even a bankruptcy followed by a shutdown that would further weaken the nation's economy. That, plus the fear of having to campaign for renomination at a time when Chrysler plants might be closing for lack of operating capital, is what finally prompted the Administration to set aside any philosophical doubts about such a bailout and back a big loan guarantee.

The bailout plan comes with strict conditions attached, and it must also be approved by Congress, which will probably go along but may attach further limitations. Even so, the news cheered Chrysler's management, which is counting on a line of fuel-efficient, front-wheel-drive cars due to appear next year to spearhead a reversal of the company's decade-long slide and return it to solid profitability by 1981. Said Iacocca after the Administration's announcement: "It's a vote of confidence we needed." Added Auto Workers Chief Douglas Fraser, who is joining Chrysler's board as part of a

deal struck by his union to help the firm: "The Government is taking a very positive step, assuring the jobs of nearly half a million American workers."

The praise was by no means unanimous, and among the most vocal critics of the bailout plan was Wisconsin Democrat William Proxmire, chairman of the Senate Banking Committee, which must consider the actual legislation involved. He blasted the proposal as "a massive give-



**Treasury Secretary Miller**

*Playing the heavy while others politick.*

away for the taxpayers, and a massive windfall for the banks, stockholders and others who have the main stake in a Chrysler bailout." He also pledged to make any aid terms "as tough as possible."

**I**n fact, a loan guarantee is not a handout at all, but a promise by the Government to make good on the cash supplied by private banks to a company if the firm cannot repay the money. The borrower pays interest not only to the banks but also to the U.S. Treasury: in Chrysler's case the annual interest charged by Uncle Sam will be at least .5%.

Moreover, there are some important strings tied to the Chrysler aid package. The key one is a requirement that before Chrysler is allowed to make use of the \$1.5 billion guarantee, it must first scrape up another \$1.5 billion on its own to bring the company's total cash infusion to \$3 billion. Explains one top Carter aide: "We reasoned that if we decided to help Chrysler we might as well do so with some-



**Automaker Iacocca, and some unsold cars**





thing that will actually work, instead of just putting up an amount that will only guarantee that the company will fail and the money would be lost."

Chrysler must also put together a convincing program for a return to profitability within two years, and it must accept close monitoring of its progress by the Treasury; indeed, Miller would be empowered to shuffle Chrysler's top executives if this was needed to give the company "a sound managerial base." Under the plan, no more guaranteed loans of any sort could be made after Dec. 31, 1983.

Political considerations clearly weighed heavily in the decision to help Chrysler. Indeed, Treasury officials concede that "a key role" in that decision was played by Douglas Fraser. Not only is his 1.5 million-member union the second largest in the nation, but Fraser himself is an admirer of Carter Rival Ted Kennedy, who has sponsored legislation to help Chrysler. Fraser himself has al-

ready declared that his union would be "neutral for Kennedy" in the 1980 campaign. With support for Carter weakening among urban blacks and blue-collar workers, who are strongly represented in the UAW ranks, the President's men have been at least keenly aware that many votes might be riding on the Chrysler decision. Said one top Carter aide last week: "It's not going to help us much with the UAW, but it might."

fund-raising luncheon in Detroit and got an earful of company pleas and similar bailout advice from Motor City Mayor Coleman Young, who is also vice chairman of the Democratic National Committee. Back in Washington, Mondale argued that, given the political realities, the Treasury ought to be flexible on the Chrysler issue. Two weeks ago, Mondale and Eizenstat got Miller and Fraser together at a breakfast meeting. Next day, Treasury officials indicated that Miller would drop his insistence that any aid package for Chrysler be "substantially less" than \$1 billion.

Miller's announcement last week was deliberately timed to follow Chrysler's latest loss report, the better to make the Administration's motives seem purely economic. The Secretary explained that the higher aid package was necessary in part because the company now needed "greater resources than we were apparently required in August." Actually, the Admin-

istration had known that Chrysler's third-quarter deficit would be huge, and in fact last September the company had forecast an even larger loss.

Chrysler also played politics in its pursuit of aid. The company not only recruited Michigan's congressional delegation, led by Senator Don Riegle and Congressman Jim Blanchard, to press its case on Capitol Hill but also dispatched a team of high-powered lobbyists to work up House and Senate support. Much of the pressuring was concentrated on Wisconsin's Proxmire, who had let it be known that he would be in no great hurry to have his committee report out an aid bill before Christmas. Though Proxmire's opposition to the bailout is genuine enough, by last week he had agreed to a Riegle request that his hearings on the bill be moved forward from Nov. 19 to next week, so that they could be finished before the Thanksgiving recess.

Government help of some sort is plainly needed if banks are to be persuaded to continue to finance Chrysler. Despite five profitable years, the company

has run up a net loss in the 1970s of \$100 million, and more than half the red ink has come this year alone. So far the 1979 deficit totals \$722 million, and the full-year loss could easily top \$1 billion, an all-time record for U.S. industry.

Some of Chrysler's deficits result from the high cost of meeting clean air standards and fuel efficiency requirements. But it was the gas shortages of last spring that triggered Chrysler's ruinous 1979 sales slump (indeed, recently Ford and General Motors have also been losing money on their U.S. operations). Yet the fundamental problem has been poor management. Chrysler has consistently failed to come up with enough models that sell well, and its share of the U.S. auto market has slumped from 14% three years ago to 11% now. The firm's total indebtedness, including that of its financial affiliate, now stands at more than \$5 billion, spread among some 250 different banks and other institutions, and lenders are wary of taking on any more Chrysler debt.

Yet Chrysler does stand a good chance of raising the \$1.5 billion that it needs to get its loan guarantee in other ways. Three likely sources of funds:

- ▶ United Auto Workers: \$203 million, representing money that the UAW has agreed to forgo in its new three-year contract. Included is a delay in phasing in certain wage and benefit increases that GM and Ford workers are already receiving.
- ▶ State aid: about \$250 million, representing various financial schemes now cooking between Chrysler and the seven states where it has major operations. For example, the state of Michigan plans to mortgage Chrysler's Highland Park headquarters for \$150 million.

- ▶ Preferred stock: up to \$200 million, representing a kind of financial prestidigitator whereby dealers and suppliers can lend the company money in return for the stock, also, banks that have already reached their lending limit to Chrysler might be persuaded to swap loan notes in return for preferred stock so they can take on more of the company's debt.

Should the Administration have resisted the temptations to extend a hand to Chrysler? Many businessmen and economists say yes, partly because they believe that the rescue effort will fail. Says Alan Greenspan, President Ford's chief economic adviser: "I forecast that the aid package will be insufficient to solve the problems of Chrysler. I further forecast that the company will be back for more."

Carter aides concede that they are not sure that Chrysler can be restored to health. But they argue that the rescue effort had to be made. Any economic downturn would surely become steeper if the nation's tenth largest industrial enterprise (1978 sales \$13.6 billion) had to close its doors. Chrysler employs 137,000 workers directly and supports another 400,000 people on the payrolls of suppliers and dealers. By the White House's reckoning, perhaps 50,000 jobs would be lost immediately if Chrysler went bankrupt. Within twelve months, according to the Data



Union Chief Fraser flanked by two U.A.W. vice presidents at press briefing on new contract

ready declared that his union would be "neutral for Kennedy" in the 1980 campaign. With support for Carter weakening among urban blacks and blue-collar workers, who are strongly represented in the UAW ranks, the President's men have been at least keenly aware that many votes might be riding on the Chrysler decision. Said one top Carter aide last week: "It's not going to help us much with the UAW, but it might."

**D**espite all the dramatics in the past three months surrounding Chrysler's pleadings for federal help, there was never much doubt that Carter would agree to a bailout. The role of Miller, who rejected the company's initial aid proposal last August as too high, was to "play the heavy," as one Treasury aide says. Within the White House, the top operatives on the Chrysler case were Vice President Walter Mondale and Stuart Eizenstat, Carter's domestic affairs adviser. The momentum toward a bailout decision accelerated sharply after Oct. 11, when Mondale attended a Democratic

## Economy & Business

Resources research firm, the unemployment rate, now 6%, might rise by .5%. In financially beset Detroit, where Chrysler is the largest private employer, joblessness might double from today's 8% level. The cost to taxpayers could be large in terms of unemployment compensation and increased welfare and food stamp payments—and a Government takeover of Chrysler's \$1 billion pension obligations.

But the permanent impact of a Chrysler collapse on the economy could hardly be described as calamitous; even if the firm were to go bankrupt, many of its profitable components would certainly be taken over by other companies. Furthermore, expanded production not just by Ford and G.M. but by American Motors and even the U.S. operations of Volkswagen might quickly offset some of the jobs impact of a Chrysler shutdown.

The real question in the bailout is whether it chips away dangerously at free enterprise itself, a system that cannot survive without the discipline of competition brought on by the threat of failure. Speaking specifically about Chrysler, General Electric Chairman Reginald Jones has said: "One of the aspects of the free enterprise system is that you should be allowed to succeed, and you should also be allowed to fail."

It is true, as the White House argues, that the U.S. auto industry would be more competitive with three healthy giants than two, but that is not an entirely persuasive argument for trying to keep afloat a company that may not be able to survive on its own. Secretary Miller insists that the Chrysler crisis is a "unique situation," in that it will cost much less to help the firm than to let it fail. None-

theless, there is a hazard that a bailout could be read by other big companies as a signal that if collapse looms, they too can count on a rescue.

The fear is that this could foster an attitude among managers that they need not work very hard at holding down costs, increasing sales and developing new products, since Washington will be reluctant to let failing companies fail. That is an attitude that has been pervasive in Britain, where governments have been all too ready to nationalize or shore up shaky enterprises. In fact, Chrysler got a \$270 million handout in Britain in 1976 after it threatened to abandon its money-losing manufacturing operations there. Two years later, the company pulled out of Britain anyway. Indeed, that episode may have an important moral: loan guarantees or no, only Chrysler can save Chrysler. ■

## Handout or Helping Hand?

Few issues in American public life raise more passion than federal aid for corporations. In his memoirs former Treasury Secretary William Simon wrote indignantly: "I watched with incredulity as businessmen ran to the government in every crisis, whining for handouts or protection from the very competition that has made this system so productive." The Administration's proposed \$1.5 billion Chrysler loan guarantee will add fuel to the old debate about whether public aid is proper for ailing private enterprises.

Actually, the arm's-length relationship between the private sector and the Government, which is widely believed to be an American tradition, has been more myth than reality. When the nation was founded, the idea of mercantilism, which held that government should foster exports, was the prevailing economic philosophy. The second act passed by the first Congress in 1789 granted aid to builders and operators of ships. During the 19th century, Washington helped companies build canals and railroads. The Depression-inspired Reconstruction Finance Corporation, before it was abolished in 1957, made loans totaling more than \$13 billion to firms that banks would not finance.

In recent years federal credit assistance to businessmen, farmers or homeowners has exploded. Just a listing of all the plans two years ago filled a 329-page book. While the debate over Chrysler's bailout has been going on, Wheeling-Pittsburgh Steel Corp. quietly received loan guarantees from Washington of \$150 million to help the company modernize and install costly antipollution equipment.

The justification of any federal loan programs, whether to local governments or to private companies, is usually national defense or loss of jobs. But politics often determines whether aid is granted. Jimmy Carter carried New York State in 1976 partly because his opponent Gerald Ford had

irritated many voters in New York City by refusing to extend the city aid when it was on the brink of bankruptcy. After he was elected, Carter told the Treasury to draw up plans to save the city. But this year when less politically important Cleveland went bankrupt, no aid was forthcoming.

Politics was likewise important in the two major cases of Government aid to troubled companies, Penn Central and Lockheed. In 1970 Congress refused a \$200 million loan guarantee to the badly mismanaged Penn Central Transportation Co., leading to the largest corporate bankruptcy in the nation's history. Wright Patman, the populist Texas Democrat, argued that the Government should not rescue "private investors and private lenders who have taken

their own risks in a free enterprise system." But almost immediately, federal loan guarantees of \$125 million had to be made to keep Penn Central trains running, and eventually two Government-aided corporations, Amtrak and Conrail, were created in part to take over the company's railroads. Freed from that albatross, Penn Central has become a successful real estate and recreation conglomerate.

Lockheed's cup-in-hand operation was far more successful. In 1971 the aircraft maker came to Congress after losing \$484 million because of cost overruns on the Air Force's C-5A plane and three other defense contracts. By razor-thin majorities, Congress granted the company a \$250 million loan guarantee. The Government was tougher on Lockheed than it has been so far on Chrysler, forcing it to pledge company assets as loan collateral. But the firm was fundamentally sound and needed only interim financing for a few cash-short years. At the end of 1977, the aerospace company terminated its Government-backed loan guarantees. The Treasury, in the end, actually earned \$31 million interest on the agreement. This year Lockheed is expected to make a profit of some \$40 million.

A Government loan guarantee cannot guarantee a company's future. It can only give its management time to prove that the firm can turn out products the public will buy.



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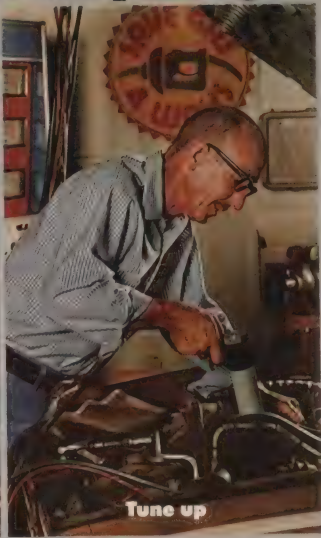
# MR. GOOD

## He explains 4 ways to get



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## The Wages of Inflation

*Carter is flirting with no-standard standards*

The Carter Administration's efforts to devise another wage guideline to replace one that nominally expired Oct. 1 led to a poignant business-labor standoff last week. The White House in September had hailed the new 18-member Pay Advisory Committee as part of a "national accord" on wage policy that would mark a healing of the rift between the President and organized labor. When the committee's first working session took place, however, all the problems of proper compensation in a pe-

need more "flexibility." Says Labor Secretary Ray Marshall: "With inflation barreling along at its current rate, the old guidelines are clearly untenable." A top Administration aide confided last week: "It would be unreal to expect labor to accept continuation of a program that was successful in holding down wages but a disaster in holding down prices." And one official on the COWPS, which administers the standards, sheepishly maintained that the anti-inflation effort "could be just as well off without a guideline program."

The abandonment of a firm pay guideline, if it occurs, would have broad implications for the economy, which is now delicately poised between two perils: even more inflation and deeper recession. Fresh harbingers of both of these threats appeared last week. The unemployment rate, which had dipped unexpectedly to 5.8% in September, returned to 6% last month—a sign of a softening economy. But other figures showed business continuing to perk along despite attempts to dampen inflation by curbing growth. Prices charged by wholesalers rose another 1% in October, while the index of "leading" indicators, which is supposed to foreshadow future economic trends, rose by a strong 0.8% in September. The net effect the mild downturn that both the Administration and the Federal Reserve desire seems to have been postponed indefinitely.

Although such powerful unions as the Teamsters and the United Automobile Workers have mangled the 7% pay guideline in the contracts they have won this year, the standard has nonetheless helped moderate many salary agreements. In the past year most workers, especially nonunion ones, have settled for pay hikes close to the 7% standard. Wage increases in major union contracts actually declined overall from last year's 8.2%, to 7.5% from January through June. Carter's chief economic adviser, Charles Schultz, hails this as "one of the truly unreported stories of the year."

Without slower pay hikes, oil-induced inflation would have soared even faster. Schultz says his main goal now is to continue the moderate wage trend so that higher oil prices will not ripple more inflation through the whole economy.

Yet the recent salary moderation has been far from uniform, and some yawning disparities have appeared. Sibson & Co., a New Jersey management consultant firm, calculates that the compensation of top business executives has increased by 14.8% this year with the help of salary bonuses often reaching 20%. Among wage earners, the hourly pay of union employees grew by only 8.3%, while that of nonunion workers edged upward just 7.2%. In other categories, the Labor Department reports that the earnings of an attorney rose by 8.9% on average, that was less than his stenographer's 12% increase but well above his file clerk's 5.5%.

In any period of rapid inflation, well-organized workers and those with scarce skills can protect themselves better, but even they eventually fall behind rising costs, and their living standards decline. Like Oliver Twist, American workers are expected to begin asking, "Please, sir, I want some more." The minimum wage is already due to rise next Jan. 1 from \$2.90 an hour to \$3.10. Nonunion workers are likely to start demanding greater pay hikes to catch up with both union salaries and inflation.

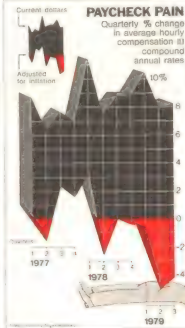


R. Heath Larry, John Dunlop and Lane Kirkland at last week's advisory committee meeting

riod of 13% inflation burst open.

Lane Kirkland, who is expected soon to take over from George Meany as president of the AFL-CIO, launched a sharp attack on the old 7% pay ceiling, calling a single guideline figure "a mad infatuation with a figure that bears within it the seeds of its own destruction." Kirkland wants to replace the old standard with case-by-case wage settlements. The top business representative on the board, National Association of Manufacturers President R. Heath Larry, argued equally adamantly against moving toward any *a la carte* pay guide. At another point in the meeting, Kirkland and R. Robert Russell, director of the Administration's Council on Wage and Price Stability, heatedly squabbled over whether unions should try to make up in wages the income lost due to higher energy prices. The committee's chairman, Harvard Economist John Dunlop, must have thought that he was back at a business school faculty meeting.

The White House hints that it may be preparing to drop the guide out of the guidelines. In the course of courting labor's support in the 1980 election, the Administration has drifted toward accepting the union position that the pay ceilings



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In fact, you can combine stored typing with original typing to create more personal — and therefore, more effective — new material.

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(Smathers applied the operating principle of the hayrake's revolving fluted shaft to his typewriter.)

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## Economy & Business

Brookings Institution Economist Arthur Okun has a "nightmare vision" of a major employer without company-wide unions such as IBM or Du Pont announcing some day that it was starting cost-of-living allowances in order to "keep the union organizers off their front lawns." Okun warns that if such automatic inflation pay increases spread into nonunion firms, "you can mark that on your calendar as a black day for fighting inflation."

Despite the sometimes impressive figures printed on weekly pay stubs, the average American worker continues slipping ever further behind inflation in terms of actual buying power. Over the past twelve months his real income, in non-inflated dollars, has steadily declined. Just since spring, inflation has eroded the total compensation of a person earning \$20,000 a year by about \$1,210. Even 10% pay increases at a time of 13% inflation results in a 3% drop in living standards.

To some extent, it is inevitable that prices will outpace incomes in the early stages of a period of high inflation; managers can move to raise the cost of goods and services quickly, but wage increases tend to lag, since they are usually gained only in negotiations, such as when contracts expire. But catch-up attempts, as each group of workers tries to recover income lost to price increases and to stay ahead of other groups, will only lead to higher wage settlements and ultimately still higher inflation. A move toward a no-standard pay standard, if it occurs, could be the first step in a perilous new round of wage and price escalation.

## Crude Assaults

### More ferment in fuel

When Jimmy Carter said a trillion, did he really mean to say a hundred billion or so? And did he threaten the oil companies earlier with "punitive" legislation when he actually only had an "unfriendly" law or two in mind? These were some of the weighty issues that preoccupied the policymakers on the energy front last week, as attention continued to be focused on Big Oil's current gusher of profits.

Although the national need now is for effective leadership that can begin cutting the U.S.'s dependence on foreign oil without further delay, the President and Congress spent much of last week quarreling over what to do about oil industry profits. The low point was reached on Monday in Providence, R.I., when Carter told a conference of Northeastern state officials that the Senate's efforts to water down his proposed windfall profits tax "could become a trillion-dollar giveaway to the oil companies."

The President's broadside was recklessly inaccurate, and embarrassed White House staffers had to rush to issue "clarifications." The trillion dollars, a White



"I see we've succeeded in breaking up the OPEC cartel."

House aide explained, is actually the amount of additional oil revenues—not profits—that the companies will receive as a result of decontrol of domestic crude oil prices over the next ten years. What Carter meant to say, the aide insisted, was that the Senate version of the windfall tax bill will leave the industry with \$130 billion more in profits from decontrol than the House measure. Other aides meanwhile tried to downplay and defuse the remarks the President made a week earlier about "punitive actions" that might be taken against the oil majors if the windfall tax did not meet his expectations. A better description of those still unspecified actions, one official suggested, would be "unfriendly." Louisiana Democrat Russell Long, who as chairman of the Senate Finance Committee was a chief target of Carter's latest venting of his frustrations over energy policy, pointed out that on balance the Senate's windfall tax proposal is tougher on the large oil companies than the House version. Said Long: "When people campaign for office, they tend to make controversial statements."

Carter's latest episode of rhetorical overkill may have won him some election campaign points, coming when oil companies have been announcing unexpectedly high profits. Last week, following reports by other major oil companies of large third-quarter profit boosts, including Exxon's 118% rise to a record \$1.1 billion, the Standard Oil Co. of California announced a quarterly gain of 110%. Ten of the largest U.S. oil companies showed third-quarter gains averaging 94%.

The President's move to hit out at the oil company targets was especially ill-timed, since many of his energy measures seem at last to be moving through Congress. Said one Energy Department official: "I can't believe Carter's pulling this stuff. His rhetoric can't do any good, and it could do real harm." The House and

Senate windfall profits tax bills will soon go to a conference committee: compromise legislation to form the Energy Mobilization Board is on the verge of being worked out; and the Senate now seems ready to approve the creation of the Energy Security Corporation, which is to spur the building of synthetic-fuel plants.

At the same time, though, legislators last week took a step that spotlights Washington's weakness on energy policy. The Senate voted to give Congress the power to restrict any future presidential move to limit oil imports. Only last July, the legislators were applauding the President's statement that he would use quotas to ensure that the U.S. would never import more oil than it did in 1977.

The congressional change of heart came at a particularly poor moment. Despite ample world supplies of oil now, fear of future shortages is prompting stockpiling and sending prices higher. The turmoil in Iran continues to give rise to worries of new production cuts by one of OPEC's most important oil suppliers, and the cartel itself now seems certain to announce new price increases at its December meeting in Venezuela. The Saudis, who have held their price at the cartel minimum of \$18 per bbl., may raise it closer to the levels of other producers: \$23.50 or more. At the same time, several OPEC producers have announced plans to curtail production next year, while Iran, Dubai and other producers are continuing to divert oil to the spot market, where it can fetch at least \$40.

And as the OPEC nations go, so go the countries that pump the approximately 40% of the free world crude that is not under the cartel's control: last week both Britain and Canada moved toward higher prices that will keep the cost of their oil in line with, or even a little ahead of, what OPEC is currently getting.





## The brightest idea in light bulbs in 100 years.

### A PROGRESS REPORT FROM GENERAL ELECTRIC

Meet the Halarc lamp from General Electric. Not since Edison invented the first practical bulb (exactly 100 years ago) has a more revolutionary lighting development come along.

The Halarc is revolutionary because of what it does. And because of the unusual way it does it.

What it does is last about four times as long as the ordinary 3-way 50/100/150-watt bulb. Even more important, it uses only about one-third as much electricity as those 3-way bulbs do at their highest setting. So although it will cost more than the ordinary bulb, it will more than pay for itself.

Widespread use of Halarc lamps could result in sizable energy savings. And good news: they're scheduled to come on the market in early 1981.

How does the Halarc lamp work? Not just electrically but electronically. In its base is a cluster of electronic circuitry that controls the bulb's main source of light. Nothing quite like it has ever been in a bulb before.

GE electronic technology is working to solve many problems. In transportation, it has developed the brain of a new electric car—a very promising experimental model GE has designed for the Department of Energy. In crime prevention, it's the heart of the new Zonar® home burglar alarm. The list goes on and on. And electronics is only one of the many technologies GE is using to make progress.



Progress for People

GENERAL  ELECTRIC



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**Actually based on fuel costs compared to direct dial weekday calls.**

We'll expect to hear from the phone company about this ad. The question is, will they call us?

Or will they drive up in a Rabbit Diesel and try to save some money?

A Rabbit Diesel is so inexpensive to drive, it can take you from Boston to Hyannis on a mere \$1.92 of fuel. A 10-minute phone call, on the other hand, will set you back about \$3.09.



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Like Phoenix to Tucson: \$2.95 in a Rabbit Diesel, \$3.16 for the phone call.

Or Columbus to Cincinnati: \$2.70 in a Rabbit Diesel, \$2.81 for the phone call.

Aside from beating a telephone, a Rabbit Diesel also beats any other car you can buy. According to the 1980 EPA Guide, it gets the highest mileage in America: an incredible 40 estimated MPG and 52 MPG highway. (Use the "estimated MPG" for comparisons.

Actual mileage varies with speed, weather and trip length. And your highway mileage will probably be less.)

No wonder the editors of *Motor Trend Magazine* said: "The Rabbit Diesel is a flat amazing car. It does many things so well, you're inclined to think that all autos should be built this way."

Why not call your Volkswagen dealer to arrange a test drive? It could be the last phone call you ever need to make.

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Warning: The Surgeon General Has Determined  
That Cigarette Smoking Is Dangerous to Your Health.

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Richer...mellower than before"***

Real's new golden leaf tobacco blend does it.  
Tastes richer...mellower...more satisfying.  
A taste that's pure gold.

***The smoking man's low tar***

## Dividends from Deregulation

*A benefit, on balance, for travelers and traffic*

**A**lmost exactly a year ago, Congress passed the Airline Deregulation Act, which in the name of free market economics all but stripped away the bureaucracy that had controlled and coddled the U.S. air travel industry for 40 years. Generally, the skies were opened to many new carriers, and operators were given unprecedented freedom to change routes, flight schedules and even their fares. Result after twelve months: a spurt of competition that has brought benefits for travelers as well as some headaches, but that may be cut short by new financial woes afflicting the industry.

On balance, deregulation has led to improved service. Scheduled carriers have added flights at more than 100 cities, and 35 carriers began serving 231 routes that had not previously been flown by lines that had permission to use them. In addition, 32 carriers have taken advantage of a rule that allows each line to begin flying one new route each year without having to get the Civil Aeronautics Board's assent. Insists United Airlines Chairman Richard Ferris: "About 98% of the traveling public has as much or more service available today than a year ago."

The big gainers have been hub cities such as Los Angeles, Houston, Chicago and New York and recreation meccas like Hawaii and Florida. But there have been losers too. Some 60 cities have been stripped of all scheduled airline service. In Chattanooga, which lost much of its service when United and Eastern pulled out this year, James Hunt, a Chamber of Commerce executive, says unhappily of deregulation: "Count us as one of the minuses."

The hope was that in places where service was curtailed or ended altogether, commuter airlines flying small planes and endowed with subsidies would fill the gap. Indeed, in the past twelve months more than 60 such lines have started up. But as a group they are plagued by a shortage of suitable aircraft and a poor safety record. So far in 1979, crashes involving commuter planes have killed 61 persons, vs. 42 in all of 1978.

The increased competition brought on by deregulation has cut average air travel costs. Traffic is up by 13.5% for the first nine months of this year, on top of a 17% increase in 1978, and about half of all air travelers now pay discount fares. The flood of flights has overstrained airports, creating booking, check-in and departure delays. Planes are packed, and even first-class seats can be difficult to

get because more and more passengers are paying the premium rates to avoid the crowding and hassle of cabin class. But despite this booming business and a 32% increase in basic fares, the airlines are encountering profit problems, chiefly as a result of higher fuel prices. Says Marvin Cohen, chairman of the CAB: "Fuel has been a real bitch."

Jet fuel, which cost 25¢ per gal in 1970, is now 70¢ and rising fast: today fuel accounts for about 30% of an airline's operating costs, up from 16% only two years



Passengers board a New York-bound Air Florida flight in Miami. Some "gnats" are spreading wings, and making money too.

ago. Having earned more than \$1 billion in the first nine months of 1978, the industry cleared only \$580 million in the same period this year, and all carriers are scrambling to cut costs. TWA has laid off 2,500 employees, and United, which was grounded by a long strike last spring and is now being hurt by passengers cashing in and flying on half-fare coupons, has furloughed 195 pilots and 400 other employees. Braniff has pulled out of 23 of the 40 markets it entered a year ago. Pan Am, which last week got CAB approval for its plan to merge with National, has dropped some overseas routes.

Some airline executives argue that deregulation has helped the carriers cope with runaway costs. Insists John Zeeman, vice president of passenger marketing at United: "If we did not have deregulation

we would have been hurt worse. We have problems catching costs but we are now more flexible and can better respond to the market." The real test of that will come next year, when air travel is expected to drop as the recession begins to bite deeper. "The jury is still out," says Edwin Colodny, chairman of USair (formerly Allegheny). "There will be no full answer on deregulation until the industry has gone through a full economic cycle, up and down."

For now, however, the carriers seem eager to exercise their new freedom to fight for business. At present, the hottest battleground is Florida, where National, Delta and Eastern are all facing new competition on routes in and out of the Sunshine State. Since deregulation, American, Ozark and Republic have all launched runs between Florida and points in the Midwest and other areas, while Braniff has increased its service from Texas and Western states. TWA and United plan to invade Florida this winter.

**O**ne beneficiary of all this competition has been the traveling public. Sun seekers can now fly more nonstops to Florida than ever before, and for a multitude of discount fares. As a result, traffic is booming: in the year ending last July, the number of passengers passing through Miami airport was up 21%.

Another beneficiary has been Air Florida, one of the many smaller carriers across the country that have been able to spread their wings under deregulation. Two years ago, it was just another rickety one-state airline, linking six Florida cities with half a dozen planes. Today it is an aggressive regional carrier that serves 23 cities, including Washington, D.C., Philadelphia and New York, with a fleet of jets. This fiscal year it turned its first real profit: \$2.4 million. Says Chairman C. Edward Acker: "Without deregulation we'd still be tiny. It has given us the ability to move fast into markets."

When Air Florida expanded to New York and Washington, it undercut its bigger competitors by offering one-way fares of just over \$50 (since raised to \$70). In a kind of backhanded salute to its aggressiveness, Eastern and other carriers struck back with lower fares on in-state routes. They forced Air Florida to reduce sharply its Miami-Tampa flights and all but abandon the Miami-Orlando run, but the airline retaliated, charging Eastern with "predatory pricing" before the CAB. Eastern spokesmen denied the Air Florida challenge, saying, "They're a gnat. We didn't even know they were there." As a result of deregulation, that may change.



# EVEN THE COLOUR OF THE LABEL SEPARATES CUTTY SARK FROM THE REST.

In a world of Scotches with red, white and black labels, the bold yellow employed by Cutty Sark stands alone.

Of course, the Scots Whisky inside the bottle has equally singular qualities. Its distinctive smoothness, for instance. This is a result of a delicate approach to blending used by few, if any, other Scotches.



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Like all good Scotch, the whiskies in the Cutty Sark blend are aged in separate oaken casks. When they reach the peak of maturity, they are blended together.

Even then they are not bottled, but returned to cask to "marry." And this results in unusually well-rounded taste that separates Cutty Sark from all the rest.





**Delta is an air line run by more than 34,000 professionals. One of them is Aaron Blakeney.**

**In his 9 years with Delta, Aaron has worked on the airport ramp, behind the ticket counter, and at the boarding gates.**

**Now he's a red coat, a Passenger Service Agent. A man-in-the-know who's all over the airport, looking to lend a hand with baggage, tickets, connections, directions, whatever will make your trip easy come and easy go.**

**When you watch Aaron Blakeney at work, you see what makes Delta the all-pro airline. It's the spirit of service that just won't quit.**

**Delta is ready when you are.®**



*This is Delta's Wide-Ride® Lockheed L-1011 TriStar. The "living room" cabins are 8 feet high, 19 feet wide. You fly in quiet luxury.*

# Television



Larry Hagman, king of the nighttime soaps, clowning around in *Big D*

## The Big House on the Prairie

*The seven deadly sins make Dallas No. 6 in the ratings*

Not long ago, Big Jock Ewing looked down his long dining room table and said to his wife, "This family's falling apart. I tell you, it's falling apart." What Jock was complaining about was that there were some empty seats at the table. But actually, as millions of viewers knew, things were perfectly normal at the Southfork Ranch: J.R., the eldest son, was in Washington with his newest mistress, and J.R.'s wife, Sue Ellen, was bedding down with her sister-in-law's brother. In short, just an ordinary night in Big D.

Most nights, in fact, it would take a motelkeeper to know who was in what bed in the Ewing family, and why. *Dallas* is proof that on television, as everywhere else, sex sells, and more sex sells better. Shortly after the program began last year, it was No. 58 on the charts. It has climbed steadily since then, and last week achieved its highest ranking yet. It came in No. 6, helping push CBS to the top of the Nielsen for the first time this season.

Sex is the motive power behind this prime-time soap opera, but there is no slighting of the six other deadly sins either—particularly avarice. The ranch house could pass for the Southfork Hilton, and it must take a tanker and a half to fuel all those Mercedes in the driveway. The lovely Ewing ladies flop around the house in designer dresses, and when the good ole boys go hunting, they don't pile into a pickup. They whir away in a helicopter.

The only really decent person in the whole household is Miss Ellie (Barbara Bel Geddes), and there must be something wrong with her too. Why else would she be wife to such a man as Jock and mother to such an unwholesome brood? By his own admission, Jock (Jim Davis) made his fortune in oil by dirty dealings, and J.R. (Larry Hagman) is carrying on the

tradition by cheating everyone within howdyin' distance. After much conniving, he finally ran Brother Gary (David Ackroyd) off the spread, but then Gary is a no-account drunk and gambler who probably got what he deserved anyway. Young Bobby (Patrick Duffy) is the good brother, comparatively speaking, but even he has a few black marks against him.

What makes this trash so flashy and, in its own nasty way, so irresistible, is its unashamed appeal to the lower emotions and the exuberant ingenuity of its rococo plot. Like one of those electric lint brushes, *Dallas*' industrious writers have picked up a little fuzz from most of their betters, all of their equals, and one or two of their

Linda Gray as J.R.'s wife Sue Ellen



inferiors. Whir, buzz. Here's a thread from Shakespeare's voluminous mantle: that old blood feud between the Montagues and the Capulets, or, in this case, the Ewings and the Barneses. Hum, grind. There's half of Tennessee Williams' back pocket. Can't you hear that cat scratching on the hot tin roof over Big Daddy's bedroom?

The idea for the show, says Producer Leonard Katzman, was to imagine that Romeo and Juliet were playing just-pretend in that tomb and suddenly found themselves in Dallas. Bobby is Romeo, and his Juliet is Pamela Barnes (Victoria Principal), the daughter of a man Jock doublecrossed during his wildcatting days. Bobby brings her home to Southfork, and J.R. tries everything but cyanide to get rid of her. He is afraid that she will give Big Daddy—sorry, Jock—his first grandson and thus persuade the old man to make Bobby his heir. His tactics fail, but when Pam does become pregnant, the resourceful J.R. manages to get her into a scuffle, causing her to suffer a miscarriage.

From that beginning have sprung enough plots, subplots and sub-subplots to propel a dozen shows. There is so much going on, in fact, that CBS will spin off a new series, called *Knot's Landing*, next January, with the feckless Gary re-emerging in Southern California. In the past year in *Dallas*, meantime, there have been three kidnappings and one violent death. J.R. has forcibly committed his alcoholic wife Sue Ellen (Linda Gray) to a drying-out clinic. Vowing revenge, she has taken up with Pam's brother, Cliff Barnes (Ken Kercheval). "I'm just so tired of J.R. getting everything he wants," pouts Sue Ellen. "Always winnin'." But that's all right; J.R. is sleeping with her sister, Kristin (Mary Crosby).

The production is so slick that it scarcely matters that some of the acting is not. When they think about it, the two daughters-in-law practice their accents, droppin' g's like sure-nuff Texans. When they do something besides thinking, like parading around the swimming pool, they sound as if the only Texans they know are those who shop on Rodeo Drive in Beverly Hills. Bel Geddes does not even attempt an accent, but she is so good at everything else that no one notices. Lucky Larry Hagman, who grew up in Texas, sounds just right.

For that matter, Hagman does everything just right, and the chief joy of *Dallas* is watching him play an overstuffed lingo in a stetson hat. Mean? There ain't nobody meaner than this dude. But Hagman plays him with such obvious zest and charm that it is impossible to dislike. Why was Iago so evil? Hagman knows: it's fun being bad. And that is the secret the creators of *Dallas* have discovered too. Audiences applaud the good guys, but they watch the bad ones, hour after hour after hour.

—Gerald Clarke

**VOLVO**

MINNESOTA

180

TJF-793

# WHAT FOUR BEST DESCRIBE

Some of the words people use to describe their new cars these days aren't fit to print. Much less display on their bumpers.

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## Sport

### Making 'Em Forget Woody

*Ohio State does it Earle's way*

The Ohio State Buckeyes take the opening kickoff in the end zone and start play on their own 20-yd. line with a blustery wind blowing into their faces. The University of Wisconsin defense is bunched close to the line of scrimmage, anticipating the three-yards-and-a-cloud-of-dust plunge that has been an Ohio State trademark for decades. But on the first play the Buckeyes go for the bomb. Though it fails, Wisconsin is caught off balance, never to recover, and Ohio State wins, 59-0. Earle Bruce has delivered his calling card: New Coach in Town.

Bruce served notice of his arrival this year with an unbroken string of victories that has carried the Buckeyes to top-five ranking in both the A.P. and U.P.I. football polls. In the process, he has healed the ugly divisions on and off campus that followed Woody Hayes' ouster as head coach last January after Hayes slugged a Clemson player during the closing minutes of the Gator Bowl. If Ohio State can

**Schlichter delivers his coach's calling card**



**Ohio State's new football coach talks strategy with his winning quarterback, Art Schlichter**

*"He gives us more freedom than there was in the past. It's a two-way street now."*

get by Iowa and Archrival Michigan in its final two games, Bruce could finish his first year in Hayes' shoes with a Big Ten title and a trip to the Rose Bowl. More difficult still, Bruce has earned the right to be known by his own name, not simply as the man who succeeded Woody. "That era," says Earle Bruce, "is over."

The nascent Bruce era is as different from the expired Hayes regime as the two men are different in appearance and temperament. Hayes is the epitome of the gravel-voiced, granite-jawed football fascist. Bruce is central casting's version of a small-town insurance agent: a paunchy, halting disciplinarian who softens his sternness with an open, gentle-eyed manner. "He looks like one of the Seven Dwarfs," says an old friend. The Ohio State team, riven by feuds among assistant coaches in recent years and demoralized by Hayes' abrupt departure, has welcomed the change. Says Sophomore Split End Gary Williams: "He gives us more freedom than there was in the past. It's a two-way street now, where before, it was definitely one-way."

A former Ohio State halfback, head coach at Iowa State (1973 to 1978) and a Hayes assistant for six years, Bruce relished the challenge of replacing his mentor. "It's a dream come true," he said. Though he is laboring almost literally in Hayes' shadow—the former coach, now writing a book, has an office in a building down the block from Bruce's headquarters—Bruce has retained just two of Hayes' eight assistants and has overhauled Ohio State's antique offensive tactics. When he was at Iowa State, his teams were noted for passing. The Buckeyes seem headed for a similar reputation. They have already tripled the number of passing touchdowns and after eight games were only 124 yds. short of last season's total yardage in the air.

The lynchpin of Bruce's Buckeyes is Sophomore Quarterback Art Schlichter, who endured a traumatic debut as a freshman, starting at quarterback before he had had time to learn his teammates' names. Working with outmoded plays and receivers who had done most of their catching in drills, Schlichter passed for four touchdowns last season but was intercepted 21 times. This year he has given up only three interceptions in eight games, while chalking up eleven touchdowns. The Buckeyes' ground game remains undiminished, however: Ohio State backs, led by Fullback Ric Volley and Tailback Calvin Murray, have ground out 22 touchdowns in the first eight games.

Perhaps the biggest difference is on the sidelines, where once Woody Hayes strode, angry and intense, Earle Bruce stands still and calm, a tactician always in control of himself and the game. In a contest against U.C.L.A., Ohio State trailed with two minutes to play, but still marched the length of the field to win in the closing seconds. Says one observer: "I don't think Woody would have won that game. He would have gotten so mad that he would have ripped off his headset and slammed it to the ground, so spotters upstairs wouldn't have been able to communicate with him."

When Hayes was dismissed last winter, Ohio State alumni lobbied in the state legislature for his return, and hard days were predicted for his successor. O.S.U. Athletic Director Hugh Hindman darkly warned: "There are people out there who are hoping for Earle Bruce to fail." Bruce produced an avalanche of victories, and now the tune has changed. "We all like him," said one fan on his way into Columbus' Ohio Stadium for a recent game. "Of course, everybody loves a winner."

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## Willie's Farewell

Mays is now in the chips

"**W**illie, say goodbye to America." With those words, Willie Mays ended his active baseball career six years ago. For 20 seasons with the Giants and two with the Mets, he had played the game with consummate skill and boundless joy. Under a \$50,000-a-year contract with the Mets, Mays remained a goodwill ambassador for baseball, making publicity appearances and occasionally tutoring young hitters in the Mets' farm system. This summer he was inducted into the Hall of Fame after receiving more votes for baseball's highest honor than any other player in history.

Last week, however, Baseball Commissioner Bowie Kuhn told Mays to say goodbye to baseball. Kuhn's edict came after Mays decided to sign a ten-year contract worth more than \$1 million with Bally Manufacturing Corp. to make public appearances on behalf of the firm's new Atlantic City casino. Such a close tie with a gambling organization, Kuhn ruled, "is not in the best interests of baseball," and he told Mays that if he works for Bally, he must give up his job with the Mets. Mays has performed similar duties during the past five years for a corporation that operates race tracks—indeed many prominent baseball figures have long held horse-racing interests—but Kuhn balked at casino gambling. Said he: "I felt the line needed to be drawn. Willie wasn't singled out."

Kuhn sent a letter outlining his position to Mays' new employer one month ago, but neither Mays nor his lawyer was shown the letter. Mays learned of the matter only when Kuhn gave him a week to choose between baseball and casinos. He was shocked by the ultimatum. Says Mays: "I don't have anything to do with gambling. I just play golf with the customers, and after that, they take pictures and the customers put them on their office walls. That's all there is to it."



Bowie Kuhn with newest Hall of Fame member  
"I just play golf with the customers."

## Cinema



Bette Midler belts one out in *The Rose*

## Flashy Trash

THE ROSE

Directed by Mark Rydell  
Screenplay by Bill Kerby  
and Bo Goldman

**B**ette Midler is not a great singer or a subtle actress or an exquisite beauty; yet she just may be a movie star. In *The Rose*, a highly fictionalized biography of a Janis Joplin-like rock icon, Midler can hardly be contained by a wide screen and six-track Dolby Stereo. She not only blasts out her many numbers with blistering fury, but she also attempts to strike every emotional chord known to junky movie melodrama. Even when she comes up flat, it is hard to look away. Midler does not make the mistake of begging for attention, like her cabaret colleague Liza Minnelli; she retains a sense of humor about herself. By mixing outrageous show-biz posturing with low-key self-effacement, she is a mastermind at getting the audience on her side.

*The Rose* is exactly the kind of vehicle one would expect for Midler's screen debut: it aspires to the tradition of *Funny Girl* and *Lady Sings the Blues*, musicals that boosted Barbra Streisand and Diana Ross to fast movie stardom by casting them as legendary singers of the past. Still, there is a basic flaw in *The Rose*'s design that makes the film hard to take seriously. While Streisand and Ross were reasonably plausible stand-ins for Fanny Brice and Billie Holiday, Midler is not credible as a bluesy rock belter. Her strident Broadway voice and campy mannerisms have more in common with Sophie Tucker. Judy Garland

or even Brice than they do with a heroine who dresses, talks and self-destructs in the style of Joplin.

As it happens, *The Rose* is so unfaithful to its ostensible subject that the miscasting is eventually forgotten. For all the film's rock-concert ambience, its over-eager references to Viet Nam and drugs, it has almost nothing to do with the '60s or the counterculture. The movie's true setting is the timeless never-never land of Hollywood kitsch: *The Rose* is a definitive catalogue of *A Star Is Born* clichés. The heroine battles with booze and men and show-biz tycoons, but somehow always manages to get out onstage and give a hell of a show. She has only two temperaments, childlike vulnerability and childish tempestuousness. The howler-ridden script makes little effort to tie these bromides to a plot or flesh them out with psychological insights. We are asked to believe that Rose's problems all stem from a fateful night when she let the entire high school football team have its way with her.

Rather than pretend that this material makes any naturalistic sense, Director Mark Rydell (*Cinderella Liberty*) shrewdly goes for broke. *The Rose* has the same visual excess and garish romanticism as the oldtime Technicolor backstage sagas. When Rose gets into a yelling match with her manager (a somewhat forlorn Alan Bates) or plays in bed with her pickup of a lover (a frisky, sexy FredERIC FORREST), the closeups are steamy and relentless. When Rose lands by helicopter at her nighttime stadium concerts, it looks like the arrival of the mother ship in *Close Encounters* (both films were shot by Vilmos Zsigmond). The movie's many drunken barroom brawls, not to mention its gratuitous excursions into the gay demimonde, unfold in gaudy, neon-tinged studio sets. This is vulgarity at its most absurd and most amusing—and why not? For Bette Midler, self-styled queen of "trash with flash," *The Rose* is an ideal throne.

—Frank Rich

## An Early Death

PROMISES IN THE DARK

Directed by Jerome Hellman  
Screenplay by Loring Mandel

**O**ur society's mighty engines of banality can reduce anything to a bore, and death, the fad that replaced tennis, has lately been talked to death. A viewer may approach *Promises in the Dark* with some wariness, therefore, because the subject of the film is a 17-year-old girl's death after a long battle with cancer. But *Promises* is clear, direct and honest, and free of both cant and sentimentality. It is also lively, in the exact sense of the word: the flow of intelligence and feeling between Buffy, the sick girl, and her family and friends



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## FISHER

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## Cinema

makes her inevitable death tolerable.

Buffy (played appealingly by Kathleen Beller) breaks her leg playing soccer, and cancer is discovered. She is bright and tough-minded, and she fights back after her leg is amputated by trying to learn everything about her disease. Against the advice of a senior associate, her doctor (Marsha Mason) conducts what amounts to a seminar on cancer for her, through the months of harrowing chemotherapy that she undergoes. Most of what the girl learns is frightful, but she does not take fright. A strong friendship develops between the hollow-eyed teenager and the doctor who tries to save her and who, when that fight has failed, insists passionately that she be allowed to die with dignity.

The film is not entirely cliché-free. The character played by Mason is a fairly standard woman-doctor stereotype: pretty but prim, with deep-frozen attitudes toward men and a sharp tongue, at first, for the handsome radiologist (Michael Brandon) who wants to cuddle. Oddly, it is the teen-age romance that escapes stereotype; the scenes between Buffy and her boyfriend (Paul Clemens) are remarkably real and touching. In balance, the film is decent and compassionate, and truthful enough not to disguise too much the fact that truth can hurt terribly.

— John Skow

## Scream Scene

WHEN A STRANGER CALLS

Directed by Fred Walton  
Screenplay by Steve Feké  
and Fred Walton

Some of the publicity material set out to puff this wretchedly inept creaking-door flick compares it to the work of Hitchcock. After the show is over, the viewer may wonder, "Which Hitchcock was that?" Instead of building toward a climax, *Stranger* strings together three awkward, vaguely related segments. The first concerns a baby sitter (Carol Kane) who is terrorized by phone calls from a homicidal maniac (Tony Beckley). The second, set seven years later, has the maniac loose again, menacing a woman (Colleen Dewhurst) in a bar. The third has him on the trail of the baby sitter, who is now a wife and mother, while a detective (Charles Durning) stalks him.

None of this works. Kane talks through her nose, and Beckley overacts. Dewhurst is physically far more formidable than her assailant and so does not seem menaced. Durning, a mild fat man who was perfectly cast as the comic villain in *The Muppet Movie*, jiggles too much when he runs to be credible as an



Carol Kane in *When a Stranger Calls*

Which Hitchcock was that?

implacable avenger. Moss grew years ago on Director Fred Walton's spooky trips. Yes, the ominous noise in the kitchen turns out to be the ice maker; and yes, the ghostly face visible when a door is jerked open belongs to a cop, not the murderer. The big scream scene, in which Kane turns for help to a blanket-covered figure of her sleeping husband, is some of the funniest footage since the Marx brothers broke up, and maybe it should have been planned that way.

— J.S.



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Photo by Gertie Edwards

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## Books

### A Clarity of Mind, a Clarity of Heart

ON THE EDGE OF THE CLIFF by V.S. Pritchett  
Random House; 179 pages; \$8.95

Hemingway wrote his stories as if he were clotting curds, squeezing the runny adjectives and opaque sentiments from his prose until action became an essence of feeling and moral. It is a style well suited for revealing character, especially that of the author. For when the passion for essences is spent, the substitute is often self-parody.

This has never happened to V.S. Pritchett, who, on the threshold of his 80th year, writes as passionately as ever. Talent, discipline and enjoyment keep the juices flowing; recognition helps. Knighted in 1975, Sir Victor is generally regarded as the best literary journalist working both sides of the Atlantic. His two-volume autobiography, *A Cab at the Door* and *Midnight Oil*, are quiet marvels of English prose and self-appraisal, and his stories have accrued into a body of major work.

The laconic, seemingly impersonal surfaces of Pritchett's stories give off a surprising amount of animal heat. It is a matter of design, craftsmanship and, as the author has written, "the supreme pleasure of putting oneself in by leaving oneself out." The technique requires the placement of the precise detail at the exact emotional distance, and it gave his autobiography the immediacy of his fiction. Here, for example, is that extraordinary passage from *Midnight Oil* in which Pritchett describes one of the more dramatic consequences of his father's exasperating personality: "He had no notion of what to do; some bewilderment at the fact that other people existed, independently of himself, made him cling to the idea that events had not happened... He invented excuse after excuse for delaying the funeral, one of the mad reasons being that Miss H. would be put out by his absence from the office. Perhaps the reason lay in a sort of Tolstoyan anger at the fact of death: it is certain also that he loved his mother passionately. There the body lay in the house. The result was horror. The dead woman's body burst in the coffin and was borne dripping from the bedroom."

Many Pritchett fictions deal with styles of preserving one's dignity. How does an aging botanist confront the energies of his lovely 25-year-old companion? Carefully, as the author illustrates in the title story of his latest collection: "There are rules for old men who are in love with young girls, all the stricter when the young girls are in love with them. It has to be played as a game." Love, of course, is never a game, especially in a December-May romance where the older

party keeps one eye on the clock and the younger does not have to. In addition, real suspicions are too easily come by.

The narrators of *The Accompanist* and *The Fig Tree* must deal with the doubts of the husbands they have cuckolded. In the first story, a pianist leaves a package of apple tarts at her lover's apartment. She arrives home dessertless for a dinner party to which her lover is invited. The husband clowns around, sings bawdy songs and regrets the missing tarts which, he is told, were left at a rehearsal studio. How much does he know? How much does he want to know? There are no answers, only a delicate tension created by

grew very sharp with both of us and Duggie and I stood apart, on our dignity."

Not all Pritchett's characters are articulate about their predicaments. Zuilmah Bittel in *Tea with Mrs. Bittel* is an affluent widow whose wits have been slowed by gentility. With a head "clouded by kindness and manners and a pride in her relics," she befriends a shop clerk whose companion attempts to plunder her expensive furnishings. That the pair are probably homosexuals escapes Mrs. Bittel; that embarrassment moves her to brave action provides the reader with an unexpected insight into motivation: "She had often, in her quiet way, thought of what she would do if someone attacked her. She had always planned to speak gently and to ask them why they were so unhappy and had they forgotten they were children of God. But a terrible thing had happened. She had wet herself, like a child, all down her legs." Red with shame,



V.S. Pritchett outside his London home near Regent's Park

"The supreme pleasure of putting oneself in by leaving oneself out."

Pritchett's great talent for dialogue. Again, it is what is left out that counts.

The husband in *The Fig Tree* knows the truth and exacts an ironic revenge. He is a businessman who spends much time away from home while his wife putters in the garden and eventually with the nurseryman. Instead of staging a showdown, the husband sends his daughter to boarding school and his wife to work for the nurseryman. The professional association is fatal to the affair. Laments the nurseryman: "The roles of Duggie and myself were reversed: when Duggie came home once a week now from Brussels it was he who seemed to be the lover and I the husband. Sally

she bashes the thief with a brass lamp. To make this moment believable requires the sort of mastery that moved one critic to say Pritchett was the Segovia of the short story. A good many other critics wish they had said it first.

—R.Z. Sheppard

He is not what one might expect in a British literary lion. Chatting amiably in the sitting room of his house near London's Regent's Park, Victor Sawdon Pritchett seems more like a rural schoolmaster. There is a comfortable, unstudied eclecticism about him. His checkered trousers, striped shirt and plaid jacket have an odd camouflaging effect, especially when he stands against a large glass

## Books

case containing a Victorian bouquet of stuffed pheasants, birds of paradise and a platypus. He offers no sharp opinions, no bulletins on the state of the arts.

"I don't write for a public," says Pritchett. "I write to clear my own mind, to find out what I think and feel." He pursues this Socratic labor seven days a week, nearly 52 weeks a year, writing with a fountain pen on sheets of strong, white paper that he holds on a pastry board. It has been his lap desk for 40 years.

A man of letters? "It is an old-fashioned term that irritates me," he says. "I didn't set out to be a man of letters. I wanted to be a foreign correspondent, because of the travel. But I had no sense of news; I would miss it by divine instinct."

Instincts and circumstances have allowed Pritchett to come to eminence in his own way and in his own time. He was born in Ipswich in 1900, son of a businessman who had big ideas and often bigger debts. The first volume of Pritchett's autobiography is called *A Cab at the Door* because the family moved a lot. He developed a taste for reading and skepticism but when he failed a scholarship exam, his formal education ended. It was a disguised blessing: "If I had passed I would have stayed at school until I was eighteen and would surely have got another scholarship to London University; probably I would have become a teacher or an academic. I had had a narrow escape."

**A**t 16, Pritchett was sent off to learn the leather business. By 1921 he was an expatriate, earning a slender living selling photography supplies, ostrich feathers and shellac in Paris. It was the Paris of Ernest Hemingway, Gertrude Stein and James Joyce, but Pritchett knew little of it. He recalls a winter evening in 1922 when he watched people walking up the Boulevard du Montparnasse carrying a large blue-covered volume. It was the first edition of Joyce's *Ulysses*, an author Pritchett had not heard of.

Most of his time was spent with painters, trying to transliterate the impact of postimpressionism into his fledgling prose. It worked well enough that the *Christian Science Monitor* asked him to write an occasional mood piece about Paris. This led to assignments in Ireland and Spain, the subject of his first book, *Marching Spain*.

By 1927 Pritchett had returned to London to write fiction. To support himself he became a critic for the *New Statesman*. "I rather liked exploration books," he recalls. "They were expensive and could be sold." By World War II he was married, a father and a critic of growing reputation. Yet he still devoted half his working day to fiction. So it has gone ever since, and the rhythm shows no signs of slackening. The question of retirement seems inappropriate. One would rather know what Pritchett is working on now. "Two stories," he replies cheerfully, "at the same time." ■



Clementine Churchill

## Dear Kat

CLEMENTINE CHURCHILL: THE BIOGRAPHY OF A MARRIAGE  
by Mary Soames  
Houghton Mifflin, 732 pages; \$16.95

**W**hen Winston Churchill married Clementine Hozier in 1908, more than 1,000 guests jammed St. Margaret's, Westminster, in London. It was the marriage of the season, indeed for 57 seasons to come. Clementine's Edwardian dignity proved to be the perfect foil for her husband's tempestuous brilliance. She played her part so well that Oxford University, in 1946, awarded her an honorary degree as the "Soul of Persuasion, Guardian Angel of our country's guardian."

But behind Clementine's correct facade was a heroine worthy of Jane Austen, as her daughter Mary Soames reveals in this fluent, dispassionate biography. The daughter of Colonel Henry Hozier and Lady Blanche Hozier, her upper-class but financially precarious parents, Clementine was a shy and teary child. But by the time she married Winston, she had blossomed as one of London's acknowledged beauties—and a lady who could speak her mind. She would interrupt dinner guests who monopolized the conversation—especially if their views did not agree with her own. She even upbraided Charles de Gaulle, when the general testily said that the French fleet would like to attack the British as well as the Germans. Nor was Winston spared her temper. Once after a battle over his spendthrift habits, she hurled a dish of spinach at his head. She missed.

Clementine was as staunch a Liberal as Winston was a Tory. Yet, as Soames

tells it, his political career benefited greatly from the shrewdness and discretion of his "Clemmie." When Churchill was removed from his post as First Lord of the Admiralty during World War I, Clementine wrote Prime Minister Asquith an anguished protest: "Winston may in your eyes... have faults but he has the supreme quality which I venture to say very few of your present or future Cabinet possess—the power, the imagination, the deadliness to fight Germany." Her further efforts managed to keep her husband from openly breaking with the powerful Prime Minister. Later, when Winston himself occupied No. 10 Downing Street, she did not hesitate to criticize him. During the worst days of World War II, word of his rudeness reached her. She dropped him a note: "I have noticed a deterioration in your manner; you are not as kind as you used to be."

Clementine's wifely career, as one might guess, was not easy. At times, says Daughter Soames, Churchill behaved like "a spoiled and naughty child." Clementine, for her part, was almost too responsible; she drove herself and others mercilessly. In addition to running several residences, entertaining and helping Winston win elections, she took on huge administrative jobs: organizing cancelets during both wars and heading fund-raising drives.

She paid a high price. "It took me all my time and strength just to keep up with him," Clementine said about Winston. "I never had anything left over." As Soames candidly admits, Clementine's four children suffered most. Although the author provides glimpses of charming Christmases spent at Chartwell, the Churchills' country home, the family was rarely together. The children's later lives were



Mary Soames

A heroine worthy of Jane Austen.

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deeply affected by these separations. Sarah had her problems with drink; Randolph bickered constantly with his parents; and Diana, the oldest daughter, committed suicide. Mary, the wife of Lord Christopher Soames, M.P., and the mother of five children, fared better.

As Winston's wife, Clementine played one of the major supporting roles of the first half of the century. She traveled to the Soviet Union in 1945 to inspect the use of Britain's Red Cross funds. "At the moment you are the one bright spot in Anglo-Russian relations," Winston cabled her. On a trip to Canada, she joined Eleanor Roosevelt in making patriotic speeches.

But it is Clementine's private life that comes through most vividly. Winston's gruffness and his wife's reserve concealed a remarkable passion. They wooed each other with tender notes, Winston decorating his with sketches of a pug or pig (her pet names for him), while Clementine was the Kat. Their love never faltered. When Winston finally resigned as Prime Minister in 1955, Soames wrote to her mother: "It must seem like the end of a long, long journey, full of . . . triumphs and bittersweet joys and anxieties. But what a story! And I know it would not have been such a splendid one if you had not been there." She was right. —Annalyn Swan

## High-Wire Act

THE MAN WHO KEPT THE SECRETS  
by Thomas Powers  
Knopf; 393 pages; \$12.95

The CIA has been the target of so many attacks in recent years that the once highly secret agency is now more familiar to the general public than, say, the U.S. Department of Agriculture. Yet all the revelations by disgruntled former employees and leftist ideologues have not added up to a balanced appraisal of the agency. To a considerable extent, that task has been accomplished by Thomas Powers, a former U.P.I. reporter who won a Pulitzer Prize in 1971 for his coverage of the radical bomber Diana Oughton. With near clinical detachment, Powers has produced a remarkably realistic portrait of American intelligence beset by bureaucratic rivalries, personality clashes and presidential caprice.

The agency, Powers believes, was badly served, as was the central figure in his narrative, Richard Helms, who headed the CIA from 1966 to 1973. A consummate professional, Helms was the proverbial man in the middle. His job was to furnish the best possible intelligence, and yet he had to contend with intense political pressures from the White House and the Pentagon. It was a high-wire act from which every CIA director has sooner or later tumbled.

Helms, as Powers sees him, was far

from the stereotype superspy. Neither dashing nor adventurous, he was cool and cautious, perhaps to a fault. A colleague recalls him remarking about a project: "Let's do it right, let's do it quietly, let's do it correctly." He was especially skeptical of large-scale covert actions because he felt they drew too much attention to the CIA and jeopardized its main function: collecting intelligence.

Still, as a good soldier, Helms was dragged into operations against his better judgment. A case in point was the attempt to assassinate Fidel Castro. As the author describes the episode, John and Bobby Kennedy told the CIA to get rid of Castro. That is why Helms was so disgusted during the later Senate investigation of the CIA when Frank Church demanded written proof of an order to kill the Cuban leader. Helms felt like responding (but didn't): "Senator, how can you be so goddamned dumb? You



Former CIA Director Richard Helms

"Like ships passing in the night."

don't put an order like that in writing."

When Helms was named CIA director by Lyndon Johnson, he had been thoroughly schooled in careful handling of Presidents. Nevertheless, writes Powers, Helms may have been too diffident about asserting himself on critical issues. Confronted with varying estimates of the strength of the North Vietnamese forces, he did not consistently back up his own analysts. He tried to compromise between the White House and Pentagon optimism and the more pessimistic CIA projections. As a result, says Powers, the U.S. was unprepared for the ferocity of the 1968 Tet offensive.

But even the resilient Helms could not cope with the mounting pressures of the Nixon era. Communication between the President and the CIA became a problem. The National Security Council and the CIA, writes Powers, were "like ships passing in the night."

Nixon dumped Helms when he failed to provide sufficient cover-up for Water-

gate. In departing, Helms once again took the rap for what his superiors had ordered. He was charged with lying to a Senate committee about the CIA's role in the attempt to prevent Salvador Allende from becoming President of Chile, a Nixon-Kissinger project he had vainly opposed. Helms was fined \$2,000 and received a two-year suspended sentence and a lecture from the judge about telling the truth. He felt it was his job to keep the secrets, and that he did—pointing up the moral of this fair and searching book: America's intelligence can be no better than the Presidents it serves. —Edwin Warner

## Editors' Choice

**FICTION:** *Endless Love*, Scott Spencer  
Passion Play, Jerzy Kosinski  
Shikasta, Doris Lessing • *The Executioner's Song*, Norman Mailer  
The Ghost Writer, Philip Roth • The Green Ripper, John D. MacDonald  
Uncollected Stories of William Faulkner, edited by Joseph Blotner

**NONFICTION:** *African Calliope*, Edward Hoagland • *Charmed Lives*, Michael Korda • *Testimony: The Memoirs of Dmitri Shostakovich*, as related to and edited by Solomon Volkov • *The Duke of Deception*, Geoffrey Wolfe • *The Right Stuff*, Tom Wolfe • *The White Album*, Joan Didion • *Zebra*, Clark Howard

## Best Sellers

### FICTION

1. *The Establishment*, Fazi (4 last week)
2. *The Dead Zone*, King (2)
3. *Jailbird*, Vonnegut (3)
4. *Triple*, Felt (1)
5. *Sophie's Choice*, Styron (6)
6. *The Last Enchantment*, Stewart (5)
7. *Shadow of the Moon*, Kaye (9)
8. *The Executioner's Song*, Mailer
9. *War and Remembrance*, Wouk
10. *The Green Ripper*, MacDonald (10)

### NONFICTION

1. *The Complete Scarsdale Medical Diet*, Tarnower & Baker (1)
2. *Restoring the American Dream*, Ringer (2)
3. *Aunt Erma's Cope Book*, Bombeck (5)
4. *The Pritikin Program for Diet and Exercise*, Pritikin with McGrady (3)
5. *The Right Stuff*, Wolfe (6)
6. *How to Prosper During the Coming Bad Years*, Ruff (4)
7. *Cruel Shoes*, Martin (7)
8. *Energy Future*, edited by Stobaugh & Yergin
9. *Serpentine*, Thompson
10. *The Medusa and the Snail*, Thomas (8)





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## Living

### Pumping Iron, Chapter II

*Women are taking to toting that bar (bell)*

**A**t Gold's Gym in Santa Monica, Calif., a man and a woman are straining against two weight machines, grimacing, muscles tightening with the rhythmic push and pull. He is Frank Zane, 37, also known as Mr. Olympia, the top titlist in professional body building. She is Christine Zane, 31, his wife, and she is not working out just because she believes families that strain together stay together. She too is a serious body builder, all 5 ft. 7 in. and 120 lbs. of her.

Christine Zane is one of about 100 women at this "21" of gyms who religiously train to build rock-hard muscles and a tight, well-toned look. Women across the country who have been drawn to the rigorous sport claim that they feel stronger and more confident. Stacey Bentley, 23, a body-building champion who moved from Philadelphia to train at Gold's, says she has become a better athlete. "I hadn't skied for a while," said the 5 ft. 2 in. competitor, "but when I did last winter, it felt like I had shock absorbers in my legs. It was wonderful." Others lift weights simply because they want to look better. Says Pete Grymkowski, owner of Gold's and currently Mr. World: "There's that Raquel Welch image they'd like: wide shoulders, slim waists and hips, firm and high breasts." Thirteen years of body building certainly have paid off for Christine Zane. Like Bentley, who dropped from 140 to 108 lbs., Christine changed drastically:



Stacey Bentley strikes a pose in Gold's Gym. Sweating for that Raquel Welch look.

her shoulders got wider and she trimmed inches off her hips. Says she: "I always had a weight problem before I started training. Now I can eat all I want and stay thin."

George Snyder, who owns the Olympus Gym in Warrington, Pa., is president and founder of the Women's Bodybuilding Association. He makes a clear distinction between what he calls "freaks"—the "Superwomen" of the sport, of whom there are about 50 in the U.S.—and the "average" female body builder. Most participants fall into the second category: women who work out just enough to compete in body-building contests where top prize goes to the best-proportioned, shapeliest and firmest body. Women can easily take off a few pounds in the first month after they start working out, says Tim Kimber, general manager of Gold's. But to qualify for competition they must buckle down to rigorous, five-times-a-week training. "Women can actually mold their figures the way men do," says Snyder, who is not alone in his distaste for more heavily muscled women. One judge at a recent competition sent a contestant running from the stage in tears when he lamented aloud, "Oh, she's gone too far."

Women are steadily moving deeper into another once exclusive male domain—power lifting. Pam Meister, 24 and 105 lbs., holds the current women's dead-lift record with 335 lbs. Though some of her male colleagues at Gold's gave her a chilly reception, Meister hung tough. "I decided that I had to let them know this wasn't some kind of joke for me," she says. "So I dead-lifted 300 lbs. three times. Since then it's been downhill all the way."

### Milestones

**DIVORCED.** Pyrotechnic Rock Star **Mick Jagger**, 35, leader of the Rolling Stones; and **Bianca Jagger**, 34, Nicaragua-born actress and disco habitué; after eight years of marriage, one daughter; in London. After 18 months of transatlantic legal fireworks and a failed attempt to move the case to Los Angeles, jet-setting Bianca was granted a divorce in 18 minutes on uncontested grounds of adultery.

**DIED.** **Robert Boulin**, 59, French Minister of Labor recently implicated by the press in a 1974 real estate scandal; after swallowing an overdose of barbiturates and drowning in a pond in the Rambouillet Forest, southwest of Paris. Boulin was the minister of longest record, having served all three governments of the Fifth Republic in nine different labor negotiator posts in 15 years. A respected laborer he was likely successor to the unpopular French Prime Minister, Raymond Barre. Initial speculation that Boulin was driven to suicide by pub-

lished accounts of his alleged misconduct triggered a flurry of attacks on the nation's press, but the minister's own suicide note reviled a judicial system gone wrong.

**DIED.** **Mamie Doud Eisenhower**, 82, widow of President Dwight D. Eisenhower; following a stroke; in Washington, D.C. (see NATION).

**DIED.** **Rachele Mussolini**, 89, shy, fiercely loyal widow of Italian Dictator Benito Mussolini; of a heart attack; in Carpena di Forlì, Italy. Rachele Guidi met Mussolini in 1906 while working in the kitchen at his father's inn. He threatened to commit suicide if she would not marry him, but they lived together five years before the union was made legal in 1915. During *Il Duce's* rise and reign from 1922 to 1943, Donna Rachele remained at home, keeping house and rearing their five children. After the dictator was shot by partisans and hanged by the heels along with Claretta Petacci, his best-known mistress, his des-

titude widow returned to her native Forlì. There she battled successfully for her right to a government pension, the Christian burial of Mussolini's remains and the return of many former possessions. She also ran a restaurant-*inn* for the past 15 years. Said she: "With all the troubles in my life, if I couldn't make a plate of tortellini or bring somebody a glass of wine, I'd have jumped out the window long ago."

**DIED.** **Sir Barnes Neville Wallis**, 92, British wizard of aircraft design who invented the "bouncing bombs" used to destroy German dams along the Ruhr; a World War II exploit celebrated in a book and the film *The Dam Busters*; in Leatherhead, England. Sir Barnes' career began with his World War I work on a British counterpart to the German zeppelin, included his development of the first swing-wing jet aircraft and hollow aerofoil design, and ended in 1971 with his efforts to improve upon the supersonic *Concorde*, a machine he considered rather primitive.

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## Time Essay

### The Political Show Goes On

**"B**asically, show business is politics. And politics, with its media blitz, is very much show biz. The big difference is that politics is real, very real, and that show business is a fantasy world."

These words of novice wisdom come from Television Celebrity Phyllis George. She picked up her insights working in her husband John Y. Brown's campaign for the governorship of Kentucky. Now that the national presidential campaigns are lurching out of various closets and back rooms, everybody will get a chance to sample and even overdose on that admixture of reality and stagecraft that politics has become.

Even in its hardest reality, politics has more and more entailed a practice of the theatrical arts. Candidates recite words set down by craftsmen who for purely technical reasons are not called scriptwriters; they sell themselves with minimovies called commercials; they thrive on pseudo events—of which the Big Announcement is but one—contrived by people who work like stage managers; once in office they are quite as concerned with images as Fellini, though hardly for artistic ends.

Politics, moreover, has fashioned what has begun to seem like a permanent alliance with show business itself. In season, the same names that decorate the gossip columns and *Variety* begin popping up in political chronicles. Last week a squiblet on Frank Sinatra and Dean Martin turned out to be a note about a Boston fund raiser for Ronald Reagan. Singer Glen Campbell, it seems, is slated to give a benefit concert for John Connally. From the White House, via a guest list for a recent campaign dinner, comes word that supporters of the Carter-Mondale team include Johnny Cash, Willie Nelson, Cheryl Ladd, Leontyne Price, Andre Previn and Andre Kostelanetz.

Such news has become commonplace and so is usually received without reflection. But it must be time to wonder how the promiscuous mingling of politics and show business affects the public's capacity to distinguish between imagery and substance. The question is not idle when asked about a society in which Actor John Wayne and Comedian Bob Hope could wind up widely admired not only as entertainers but as political philosophers.

Indeed, the entertainment world itself has been displaying an ever-more-conspicuous political face. Jane Fonda fights nuclear energy. Robert Redford preaches environmentalism. Paul Newman turns up as an emissary to the U.N.—where Pearl Bailey also once sat. Ideology has begun blurring forth even at Oscar shindigs, injected in 1973 by Marlon Brando for the American Indians and last year by Vanessa Redgrave against Zionism.

Granted, show business folk have every right to politick. And politicians are entitled to use every self-serving gimmick that the law allows. Still, given the American tendency to worship stars, one may wonder whether eventually show business might be too casually accepted as an appropriate training ground for political leadership. The question is pertinent even if California's election of Actor George Murphy as a U.S. Senator is shrugged off as a typical West Coast aberration.

The trend that invites such inquiries has been developing for quite a while. It had started well before it was dramatized in the memorable gymnastics of Sammy Davis Jr. flinging his little arms about Richard Nixon. Franklin Roosevelt, in fact, enlisted Playwright Robert Sherwood as a ghost, and subsequent Presidents increasingly turned to theatrical artisans for help, especially after TV got big. By the 1970s the political scene seemed

so stagey that Anthropologist Edmund Carpenter was moved to say that "the White House is now essentially a TV performance." He exaggerated, but not by much.

The mixture of politics and show business is not merely expedient; it is also natural. Each world, by its nature, plays to the crowd. The politician and the performer equally require public attention and feed on popular adulation. As either politics or statesmanship, government has always relied on a heaping measure of theatricality. Royal pageantry evolved not entirely to oil the vanity of the overlords but also to satisfy the human craving for symbolic ceremonials. The politician's own requirements in a democracy carried things a step further. To win a constituency, the politician must first gather a crowd and turn it into an audience. Enter show biz. In the old days the string band on the courthouse square became as indispensable for that purpose as are the musical groups and superstars in this day of mass culture. Says Joanne Woodward of theatrical personalities who get drawn into campaigns: "Let's face it, we're shills."

Perhaps, but there is more to it than that. The politician, with a little luck, gets more than a crowd out of the star. There is also a hope of inheriting the excitement the star stirs up, of having some popular sympathy and prestige rub off as a result of a supporting star's popularity. In turn, the star, on top of perhaps serving personal philosophical interests, enjoys a chance to bask in the presence of power. That may seem little reward, yet it may be of considerable importance to a king-size theatrical ego.

Money, to be sure, lies alongside, and sometimes above, other factors at the roots of the politics-show biz alliance. Impressive sums, \$75,000 here, \$100,000 there, were added to campaign treasuries in 1976 out of the proceeds of concerts by celebrated musical performers. Singer Linda Ronstadt was producing bucks for Governor Jerry Brown long before the two of them had become a hot gossip-column item. The Allman Brothers and



Johnny Cash similarly helped out Jimmy Carter. This fund-raising mode was facilitated by a financing law that allowed concert receipts to be considered as donations not of the performers but of ticket-buying members of the audience. There will be more political concerns though the law has been tightened to curtail the federal matching money that can be awarded.

The sheer fact of the politics-show biz mingling may be no cause for worry. Still, too intimate a consortium would do the country no good. The electorate should remain a skeptical and demanding constituency, but the ubiquitous looming of star performers does tend to turn it into a distracted audience. The capacity to achieve effects by glitter and glamour is not likely to inspire politics toward greater integrity. Nor are theatrical atmospherics apt to move the public to examine more soberly issues that too few Americans take seriously even now.

The trouble is that show biz will always remain all but inseparable from the fantasies that produce its stars, and the allure of its performers all but inevitably overshadows substantial matters they associate with. Virginia's U.S. Senator John Warner learned as much last week when, attending a Manhattan bash, he found himself little noticed, while gapers clamored after his wife Liz Taylor.

"We suffer primarily not from our vices or our weaknesses, but from our illusions." Historian Daniel Boorstin wrote in *The Image*. He was probably right. The rub is that one American vice, as both politicians and actors well know, is a weakness for illusion. So the show, beyond doubt, will go on. — Frank Trippett

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That Cigarette Smoking Is Dangerous to Your Health.

Kings: 8 mg "tar," 0.6 mg nicotine—  
100's: 11 mg "tar," 0.7 mg nicotine av. per cigarette, FTC Report May '78



A new national smoker study has just been completed.

It reaffirms that low tar MERIT can match the taste of high tar cigarettes and also provide long-term satisfaction—even to former smokers of high tar brands.

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### New Smoker Research Tests Thousands

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An extensive two-part study was conducted among smokers from across the United States.

—*Tar/Taste Tests* against leading high tar brands involving thousands of smokers.

—*National Surveys* of former high tar smokers who have switched to MERIT.

The results: stunning.

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**In tests where brand identity was concealed, the taste of low tar MERIT held its own against high tar brands.**

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**Proof:** A significant majority of smokers rated MERIT taste as good as—or better than—high tar leaders. Even cigarettes having twice the tar.

**Proof:** Of the 95% stating a

preference when tar levels were revealed, 3 out of 4 smokers chose the MERIT low tar/good taste combination over leading high tar brands.

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**In a national survey of MERIT smokers, low tar MERIT was found to be a satisfying, long-term taste alternative to high tar smoking.**

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**Proof:** The overwhelming majority of MERIT smokers polled felt they didn't sacrifice taste in switching from their high tar brands.

**Proof:** 96% of MERIT smokers don't miss their former high tar brands!

**Proof:** 9 out of 10 enjoy smoking as much since switching to MERIT, are glad they switched, and report MERIT is the best-tasting low tar they've ever tried!

It's clearer than ever. In test after test, nationwide research continues

to demonstrate that MERIT delivers a winning combination of taste and low tar.

A combination that seems to be attracting more and more smokers every day and—more importantly—satisfying them long term.



# MERIT

Kings & 100's



Model 3330  
Crafted of wood and  
top-wood materials.  
Simulated TV picture.

## PROVEN: 25% SHARPER COLOR PICTURE THAN EVER BEFORE POSSIBLE.

### MORE LINES OF RESOLUTION MAKE THE DIFFERENCE.

Lines of resolution determine how sharp your color TV picture will be. The more lines, the sharper the picture. And Magnavox has more lines than ever before possible.

Ordinary color TV pictures have 260 lines. Magnavox Computer Color 330 delivers 330 lines. That's 25% more lines of resolution for Magnavox.

That means Magnavox has a 25% sharper, crisper, clearer color picture.

For documentation of this fact, please write: Magnavox, Dept. 700, Fort Wayne, IN. 46804.

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## WE MAKE STAYING HOME FUN.

### NEW MAGNAVOX TOUCH-TUNE™ TELEVISION ALSO GIVES YOU:

☐ Computer Touch-Tuning... for ease and exactness. ☐ Computer Designed Chassis... for reliability and performance. ☐ Improved Sound... for greater realism.

And Magnavox is cable-ready for 20 cable channels without a converter... to save you time and money.

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